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CONTENTS AND INDEX—VOLUME VIII

ARTICLES

	PAGE
Advance Impression of the Tennessee Evolution Case, <i>Herbert C. Noonan, S. J.</i>	92
Among the Indian Chiefs at the Great Miami, <i>Rev. Paul J. Foik, C. S. C.</i>	215
An Historic Court Decision.....	85
A Review of "The Curious Legend of Louis Phillippe in Kentucky," <i>Rev. W. D. Pike</i>	195
Editorial Comment.....	90, 281, 381
Fifty Years in Hospital Service, <i>Rev. A. Zurbonsen</i>	143, 275
Gleanings from Current Periodicals, <i>William Stetson Merrill</i>	176
Great Western Railway Systems, <i>W. W. Baldwin</i>	159
History of Eucharistic Congresses, <i>John Ireland Gallery</i>	342
History in the Press.....	137
Illinois' First Citizen—Pierre Gibault, <i>Joseph J. Thompson</i>	3, 99
Indulgences Granted Attendants at the Eucharistic Congress, <i>George Cardinal Mundelein</i>	313
Miscellany.....	184, 284
Musical Program.....	383
New Guardian Angel Orphanage for Archdiocese of Chicago, <i>Joliet Evening Herald</i>	92
Old St. Patrick's of Joliet Razed, <i>Joliet Herald Press</i>	158
Patron Saint of the Eucharistic Congress, <i>John Ireland Gallery</i>	342
Seeing the Body of Our Lord, <i>Rev. Herbert Thurston, S. J.</i>	291
The Christian Brothers at Joliet, <i>A Christian Brother</i>	82
The Curious Legend of Louis Phillippe in Kentucky, <i>Young E. Allison</i>	29
The Expulsion of the Franciscans from Prussia and Their Coming to the United States in the Summer of 1875, <i>Rev. Eugene Hagedorn, O. F. M.</i>	66
The First Martyrs of North America, <i>John J. Ryan</i>	250
The Historical Setting for the Eucharistic Congress, <i>Joseph J. Thompson</i>	349
The History of the Holy Eucharist, <i>Rev. Joseph Husslein, S. J.</i>	354
The Pioneer Explorers, <i>Prof. A. C. McLaughlin</i>	266
The Program of the Twenty-Eighth Eucharistic Congress, <i>Eugene Weare</i>	306
The Sulpicians in Illinois, <i>Rev. John Rothensteiner</i>	233
The Trappists of Monks Mound, <i>Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.</i>	106
The Unveiling of the Tablets, <i>George W. Dixon</i>	264
To Receive the Blessed Body of Our Lord Sacramentally and Virtually Both, <i>Sir Thomas More, Knight</i>	371

ILLUSTRATIONS

Bronze Tablets Placed on Michigan Boulevard Bridge, Chicago, by the Colonial Dames of America.....	Opposite 264
Old Cathedral, Bardstown, Kentucky.....	Opposite 195
Old Cathedral, Paintings in.....	Opposite 200
Pope's Blessing and Plenary Indulgence, Facsimile of Manuscript...	Opposite 97

EDITORIALS

A Slight Misunderstanding.....	90
Bring the Marquette Statue to the Lake Front.....	282
Eucharistic Congress Number.....	381

Growing in Merit and Popular Esteem.....	282
History in the Making.....	90
Saints in Our Day.....	90
The Anniversary Spirit.....	281
The Dominant Idea.....	381
The Eucharistic Congress.....	281

MISCELLANY

Archeological Finds in Africa.....	186
Cenacolo Conceded to Italian Franciscans.....	184
Columbus Day in Italy.....	185
Honoring the Memory of Columbus, <i>Frederick J. Haskin</i>	284
Indians Back to Rice Fields When Machines Fail.....	288
New Orleans Old French Quarter to be Preserved.....	287
Pan-American Heroes	286
Romantic Life of Columbus Told by Numerous Relics.....	286
The Mother Church of the Middle West, <i>Rev. C. H. Morrison, S. J.</i>	189
University Chapel, St. Mary of the Lake, Consecrated.....	192
Use of Quinine, Known as Jesuit Powder.....	281

CONTRIBUTORS

A Christian Brother.....	82
Allison, Young E.....	29
Baldwin, W. W.....	159
Dixon, George W.....	264
Foik, Rev. Paul J., C. S. C.....	215
Gallery, John Ireland.....	342
Garraghan, Rev. Gilbert J., S. J.....	106
Gunther, John	184
Hagedorn, Rev. Eugene, O. F. M.....	66
Haskin, Frederick J.....	284
Herald, Joliet Evening.....	92
Hitchcock, C. I.....	29
Husslein, Rev. Joseph, S. J.....	354
Literary Digest, Quotation from.....	85
Matre, Anthony	316
McLaughlin, Prof. A. C.....	265
Merrill, William Stetson.....	176
More, Sir Thomas, Knight.....	371
Morrison, C. H., S. J.....	189
Mundelein, George Cardinal.....	313
Noonan, Rev. Herbert C., S. J.....	92
Pike, Rev. W. D.....	195
Press, Joliet Herald.....	158
Pucci, Msgr. Enrico.....	186
Rothensteiner, Rev. John.....	233
Ryan, John J.....	250
Thompson, Joseph J., LL. D.....	3, 99, 349
Thurston, Rev. Herbert, S. J.....	291
Weare, Eugene	306
Zurbonsen, Rev. A.....	143, 275

GENERAL INDEX—VOLUME VIII

A

Alface, Chief of Seneca Indians..	227
Algonquin, Indians	255
Allen, Professor at Chicago University, quoted	160
Allison, Young E.; "The Curious Legend of Louis Phillippe" ..	195
American Hospital Service, Fifty Years in	145, 278
Amsterdam, Holland, 27th Eucharistic Congress	341
Anchoresses, Rule for, reference to	300
Angers, France, 13th Eucharistic Congress	329
Angouleme, France, 14th Eucharistic Congress	330
Antwerp, Belgium, 7th Eucharistic Congress	323
Archeological Finds in Africa...	186
Armstrong, Captain, Correspondence	227
Assemblies of Catholic Organizations, Central Verein	307
Catholic Students' Mission Crusade	307
Assemblies, General, of the Congress; Subjects for	308
Avignon, France, 2d Eucharistic Congress	313

B

Babb, Margaret A., "Mansion Houses of Cahokia and Its Builder, Nicholas Jarrot," Extracts from	244
Badin, Rev. Steven Theodore, quoted	40, 42, 112, 197, 201
First Missionary in Kentucky	40, 52, 111
Baltes, Rt. Rev. Bishop P. J., reference to	275
Baltimore Diocese Established ...	16
Bandelier, Dr. Adolph and "Historical Documents of New Mexico"	176
Barat, Mother, and the Religious of the Sacred Heart.....	190
Bardstown, reference to...	30, 209, 211
Bardstown, First Cathedral west of Alleghany	39, 196
Bell in Cathedral.....	41, 198
Mechanical Clock	42, 199
Paintings in	43, 200
Reference to	209
Barr, Margaret E. and the Life in Cahokia	180
Battle of Tippecanoe, reference to	127

Beauvais, and the Kaskaskia property.....	8, 20, 180
Benton, Thomas H., quoted.....	159
Bernard, Rev., Superior of Trappists, Eventful Journey to Big Mound	116
Bernardine, Sister, Mother General of Franciscan Sisters.....	148
Bierbaum, Rev. Irenaeus, O. F. M.	68
Bigger, H. P. and the Portrait of Jacques Cartier	179
Bishop of Quebec, Correspondence	14, 16
Blessed Virgin in Greenland, Inscriptions	181
Bonzano, Cardinal, Papal Legate, Installation of	310
Brackenridge, Henry, Description of Monks Mound	107
Account of Trappist Monastery	129
Brussels, Belgium, 11th Eucharistic Congress	328
Bryan and Burbank on Evolution	92
Burlington Railroad	163, 168, 171
Butler, Gen. Richard, address..	223, 225

C

Cachot, Felix, Historical Trappist Lay Brother	39
Caesarius of Heistermacher, quoted	294
Cahokia or Monks Mound and the Order of La Trappe.....	106, 244
Calderon, reference to.....	251
Capuchin Monastery, reference to.	72
Carroll, Rt. Rev. J., Prefect Apostolic at Baltimore, quoted	13, 16, 18, 236
Reference to	169
Cathedral, St. Louis, Century of Service	140
Cathedral Bell at Bardstown...	41, 198
Catholic Slaves in Louisiana.....	182
Cenacolo Conceded to Italian Franciscans	184
Ceremonies at the Consecration of St. Mary of the Lake Chapel	192
Chabrat, Rev. G. A., Bishop Coadjutor of Bardstown.....	40
Cathedral Bell and.....	41
Cherokee Indians	222
Chicago, Archdiocese, Development of	352
Greatest Holy Day of.....	353
Chicago River, reference to.....	264
Chicamagies	226
Chicasaw and Choctaw Indians...	220

Chippawa Indians	223
Christian Brothers at Joliet, Illinois	82, 83
Field of Labor.....	84
Clark, Colonel George Rogers and Cahokia Village	27
Reference to	102
Clark, General at Post St. Vincent	230
Clay, Henry, quoted.....	159
College, First at Baltimore.....	17
Cologne, Germany, 20th Eucharistic Congress	335
Colonial Dames of America Erect Tablets	264
Columbus Day in Italy.....	185
Memorial to Columbus.....	284
Life told by numerous relics....	286
Committee, Permanent, International Eucharistic Congress....	306
Congregation of the Brothers of Christian Schools.....	83
Congress and the Order of La Trappe	121
Congress, Eucharistic; reference to	281
Discussions at the.....	316
Historical Setting of the.....	353
Indulgences on the occasion of	313
Program, Official and Unofficial	309
History of Congresses (See Eucharistic Congress).	
Contributors to Illinois Catholic Historical Review, reference to	282
Convent of St. Mauritz, Muenster, Westphalia	143
Corneille, reference to	251
Cunningham, Rev. Leo, S.J. and Camp DeSmet	140

D

Dablon, Rev. Claude, S. J., quoted	350
Damien, Rev., Missionary to the Leper Colony	44
De Brebeuf, Rev. Jean, S. J., and the Huron Indians.....	225
Decree: Eudes de Sully.....	296
De Lai, Cardinal Gaetano.....	318
Delattre, Rev. and the Archeological Finds in Africa.....	186
De La Salle, St. John Baptist, Founder of the Christian Brothers	82
Sketch of	83
De La Salle New High School, plans of	157
De La Taille, Rev., S. J. and the subjects for the general assemblies of the Congress....	307
Delaware Indians	223
De Rohan, Rev. William and the First Catholic Church in Kentucky	35
Sketch of	35

De Smet, Rev. Peter, S. J. and the Indian Missions	191, 262
Description of the Life of the Trappists	124
Development of the Church in Mid-America	350
Dickens, Charles, "American Notes," reference to.....	133
Digmann, Rev. Florentine, S. J., Diamond Jubilee Celebration..	139
Diocese of Baltimore.....	16
Disputes on Transsubstantiation of Bread and Wine.....	291
Dixon, George W., address of....	264
Dominant Idea of Our Civilization	381
Dominican Republic and the Columbus Memorial	284
Douglas, Stephen A., quoted.....	159
Du Bourg, Bishop Louis William Valentine, Sulpician	249
Duchesne, Mother, in St. Charles, Missouri	190
Dunand, Rev. Joseph Maria, Trappist Monk	36
Establishes Florissant, present St. Charles	36, 115
Sketch of	36
Duncan, Governor of Illinois, quoted	169
Dunne, Rev. P. W., Dean, Joliet..	155

E

Edwards, Ninian, First Governor of Illinois Territory.....	117
Egyptian Pyramids, reference to..	197
Establishment of Diocese at Kentucky, reference to	40
Eucharist, Miracles of	297, 318, 322, 323
Eucharistic Congress, International, reference to	281
Program, Official and Unofficial of the	309
Indulgences	313
Discussions at the.....	316
Illinois Catholic Historical Review and the	381
Musical Program of the.....	383
First at Lille, France.....	317
Second at Avignon, France....	318
Third at Liege, Belgium.....	319
Fourth at Fribourgh, Switzerland	320
Fifth at Toulouse, France.....	321
Sixth at Paris, France.....	321
Seventh at Antwerp, Belgium..	323
Eighth at Jerusalem.....	324
Ninth at Reims, France.....	326
Tenth at Paray-le-Monial, France	327
Eleventh at Brussels, Belgium..	328
Twelfth at Lourdes, France....	329
Thirteenth at Angers, France...	329

Fourteenth at Namur, Belgium.	330
Fifteenth at Angouleme, France	330
Sixteenth at Rome, Italy.....	331
Seventeenth at Tournai, Belgium	332
Eighteenth at Metz, Germany..	332
Nineteenth at London, England.	334
Twentieth at Cologne, Germany.	335
Twenty-First at Montreal, Can- ada	336
Twenty-Second at Madrid, Spain	337
Twenty-Third at Vienna, Austria	338
Twenty-Fourth at Malta	339
Twenty-Fifth at Lourdes, France	340
Twenty-Sixth at Rome, Italy....	340
Twenty-Seventh at Amsterdam, Holland	341
Eucharistic League of Priests.	326, 329
Eulogy of Rt. Rev. J. A. Griffin..	278
Evolution; Opinion of Bryan and Burbank	92
Rev. Herbert C. Noonan, S. J....	93
Exiles, Franciscan, from Prussia..	79
Expulsion of the Franciscans from Prussia	66
Extracts; from the Reports of Governor St. Clair.....	7
from Writings of Rev. Spalding, S. J.	210

F

Fahle, Rev. Arsenius, O. F. M....	69
Filson Club and the Legend of Louis Phillippe	29
Flaget, Rt. Rev. Joseph Benedict, first Bishop of Bardstown and Louis Phillippe	29
Pioneer of Kentucky	52
Sketch of Youth	64
Quoted	209
Foik, Rev. Paul J., reference to..	283
Foley, Rt. Rev. Thomas, D. D....	78
Forbes, John M. and the Michigan Central Railroad	174
Forget, Rev. and the Holy Family Mission	21
Franciscan Expulsion from Prussia	66
On Board Rotterdam	70
Description of Trip to Teu- topolis	72
New Fields of Labor.....	78
Provinces of the Order.....	78
List of Exiles	79
Franciscans, Italian, Receive the Cenacolo	184
Francois, Jean, Bishop of Quebec, quoted	14, 19
Fribourgh, Switzerland, 4th Eucha- ristic Congress	320
Frontier Days of St. Patrick Church, Joliet	155

G

Gaillardin, Rev., Trappist Historian	126
Gallileo and Gascoigne, reference to	251
Garraghan Rev. Gilbert J., S. J., and Historical Research.....	183
George Washington, Letter to Congress Concerning North- western Territory	6
Gibault, Pierre, Illinois' First Cit- izen	3, 99
Congressional Action Concerning	4, 12
Labors, Sacrifices, and Request for Reward	4, 103
Kahokia property and.....	8, 12
Pastor at New Madrid.....	20, 100
Correspondence with Rev. J. Car- roll, Prefect Apostolic	14
Missionary of Holy Family and Vicar General	21
Power of Attorney.....	21, 27
Sale of Property to George Rogers Clark	24
Last Strenuous Years.....	99
Narration of Activities by Father Rothensteiner	100
Death and Burial.....	104
Celebration of First Mass in St. Louis	140
Golden Jubilee Celebration of the Hospital Sisters of St. Francis	278
Goupil, Rene, and the Huron Mis- sions	258
Governor, Northwest Territory; Extracts from Report.....	7
Griffin, Rt. Rev. J. A., eulogy of..	278
Guerein, Mayor of Montreal, Knighted by Pope Pius X... 336	
Guillet, Urban, Monk of La Trappe	108
Dom Urban and the Indian Children	111
Chronology of Journey of.....	109
Jarrot's Land offer to.....	113
Account of Western Trip.....	114
Before Congress	120
Reverses	131
Return to France.....	133
Death at Cholet, France.....	135

H

Hammond, George P. and the De- sertion of Onate's Colony in New Mexico	177
Harley, Most Rev. Archbishop, Di- rector of the 2d Eucharistic Congress	318
Herald Tribune, New York, and the Oregon School Law.....	87

Heylen, Rt. Rev. Bishop, Namur, President of the Permanent Committee of the International Eucharistic Congress	307	Hurons	255
Hill, James J., Capitalist, refer- ence to	174	Iroquois	255, 261
Hines, Edward, Knight, and the Chapel at St. Mary of the Lake	192	Kaskaskias	7
Historical Review and Rev. Pierre Gibault	100	Ottawas	223
Historical Setting of the 28th In- ternational Eucharistic Con- gress	353	Senecas	225
Historical Society of Illinois and the Unveiling of Tablets	264, 281	Wyandots	223
Hitchcock, C. I.	29	Indulgences Granted by His Holiness, Pius XI to the Congress- ists	313
Holmann, Congressman, reference to	161	Inscription on the Bell of Bards- town Cathedral	54
Holy Eucharist, the Dominant Idea of Our Civilization	381	International Eucharistic Congress, History (See Congress).	
Holy Grail, reference to	305	Iroquois Indians	255, 261
Hospital of St. John	276	Italian Franciscans and the Cena- colo	185
Hospital Sisters of St. Francis, Golden Jubilee	278	Ivo, Rev. Father, O. M. Cap., and the Franciscans in New York	72
Huron Indians	255		
Husslein, Rev. Joseph, S. J., and the History of the Holy Eu- charist	355		
Hynes, Rev. Robert; Description of the Old Church at Cahokia ..	239		

I

Illinois' First Citizen, Father Gi- bault	3, 99
Illinois Country; Father Gibault ..	20
Reference to	219
Illinois Territory and Rev. Urban Guillet, Trappist	117, 127, 131, 135
Illinois Central Road	160
Illinois Trial of Public Ownership	169
Illinois Catholic Historical Review and the Anniversary Spirit ..	281
Growth in Merit and Esteem ..	282
Immaculate Conception Chapel at St. Mary of the Lake	192
Indian Missions in Middle West ..	191
Indians; Hostilities of	215, 226, 230, 232
Treaty with Shawanoc	220
Alfaca and O'Bail, Chiefs of Seneca Tribe	222, 224, 227
Chiefs at the Great Miami	218
In Rice Fields	288
Algonquins	255
Cherokees	222
Chicamagies	226
Chicasaws	220
Chippawas	223
Choctaws	220
Delawares	223

J

Janknecht, Very Rev. Gregory, Provincial of the Franciscans	67
Jarrot, Nicholas, Cahokia and Dom Urban	113
Reference to	180
Sketch of	244
Jefferson, Thomas, Secretary of State, quoted	6
Jerusalem, 8th Eucharistic Con- gress	324
Jesuit Martyrs of North America	91, 250
Powder, Quinine, use of	189
Missionaries, Florissant	191
Indian Missionaries	255
Jogues, Rev. Isaac, S. J., labors and martyrdom among the Iroquois	257
Johnson, Ben, reference to	251
Joliet, Louis and Father Mar- quette; Erection of Tablet in honor of	264
Sketch of	267
Joliet, St. Patrick Church, first Catholic edifice of	155

K

Kahokia Property Dispute	8, 27
Kaskaskia Indians	7
Kaskaskia, Property of	8, 16
Kenrick, Rt. Rev., Bishop of Phila- delphia	56
Kentucky, First Catholic School ..	110
Kentucky, History of, reference to	52, 206, 214, 274
Kepler, Astronomer, reference to ..	251
King Robert of Naples and the Cenacolo	184
"Kulturkampf," reference to	66, 77, 79

L

Land Grants for Railroads.....	160
Langton, Stephen Cardinal, of Canterbury, quoted	295
La Salle and Tonti; Erection of Tablet in honor of.....	264
Sketch of	269
Exploration of the Mississippi..	273
Law Regarding Land Grants to People of Vincennes and the Illinois Country	11
Legend of Louis Phillippe.29, 53,	193
Review of	196
Le Jeune, Rev., S. J. and the Al- gonquins	255
Letter of Father Gibault to Con- gress	4
Dom Urban to His Grace, Bishop Plessis, of Quebec.117, 119, 123,	131
Dom Urban to His Grace, Bishop Carroll	128
Levadoux, Rev. Michael	237
Liege, Belgium, 3rd Eucharistic Congress	319
Life in Cahokia	180
Lille, France, first Eucharistic Congress	317
Lincoln Vindicated	137
List of Franciscan Exiles.....	79
Pioneers of St. Francis' Hos- pital Sisters	145
London, England, 19th Eucharistic Congress	334
Louisiana Purchase, reference to..	104
Lourdes, France, 12th Eucharistic Congress	329
25th Eucharistic Congress	340

M

Machebeuf, Rt. Rev. Bishop, of Colorado, quoted	63
Madrid, Spain, 22d Eucharistic Congress	337
Maes, Rt. Rev. Camillus Paul, Bishop of Covington, quoted40, 42, 197,	200
Biography of Father Nerinckx referred to	43
Maler, Rev. Bede, O. S. B. and the Priests' Eucharistic League..	326
Malpighi, reference to	251
Malta, Island of, 24th Eucharistic Congress	339
Manfroni, Dr. Camillo, quoted....	186
Manning, His Eminence, Cardinal, reference to	153
" Mansion House of Cahokia, and Its Builder, Nicholas Jarrott," extracts from	244

Marquette, Rev. Jacques, S. J., first white man to visit Chi- cago	264, 268
Tablet on Michigan Blvd. in honor of	264
Sketch of	267
Monument in honor of.....	282
Planting of the Church in Mid- America	348
Eucharistic Congress and.....	353
Martyrs, First, of North America	250
Mason, Edward Gay, reference to.	264
Mass, early Liturgy of the, by St. Justin	361
Masters of Literature, Science and Art	251
Maxwell, Rev. James, Vicar Gen- eral	103
McClory, Rev. Augustine, O. F. M., First Holy Mass	78
McLaughlin, Prof. A. C., address of	265
McReynolds, Justice James Clark, quoted	85
Memorial to Columbus.....	284
Metz, Germany, 18th Eucharistic Congress	332
Milton, Poet, reference to.....	251
Miracles of the Holy Eucharist297, 318, 322,	323
Mission; Tamarois	19
Holy Family, Kaokias	21
St. Francis Xavier, Vincennes..	235
Canadian	255
Missionaries, First, in Kentucky..	40
Rev. Pierre Gibault	103
Jesuit, in Middle West.....	191
Sulpician, in the Illinois Country	233
First Martyrs of North America	250
Mississippi River, explored by La Salle	264, 273
Monks' Mound, description of....	107
Montreal, Canada, 21st Eucharistic Congress	336
Moore, Major Thomas P., reference to	62, 207
Moorhead, Prof. Warren C., arch- eologist	106
Morrison, Rev. C. H., S. J., and Mother Church of the Middle West	189
Mullanphy, John, Missouri's first millionaire	110, 113
Mundelein, George Cardinal, D.D., and the University Chapel....	192
His Eminence announces Indul- gences granted Attendants at the Eucharistic Congress.....	313
Reference to	82
Murillo, Spanish Painter, reference to	253

N

Nagot, Rev., and the First Seminary at Baltimore	17, 237
Namur, Belgium, 14th Eucharistic Congress at	330
Nelson County, reference to	35
Nerineckx, Rev. Charles, First Missionary in Kentucky	40, 52
Biography referred to	42, 111
New Orleans, Old French Quarter to be Preserved	287
Noonan, Rev. Herbert C., S. J., and Evolution	92
Norland, Paul and the See of Gardar, Greenland	178

O

O'Bail, Seneca Indian Chief	222, 224
Objections to Young E. Allison's "Curious Legend of Louis Phillippe"	195
O'Connell, Rev. C. J., Pastor of St. Joseph's Cathedral	44
Olivier, Rev. Donatien, veteran missionary of Illinois, quoted	111
Sketch of	243
Ordinance of 1787, and its saving clause	3
Oregon School Law, quoted	86
Herald Tribune and	87
Justice McReynolds regarding ..	86
Governor Walter M. Pierce Decision	87
Portland Oregonian and	88
Newspaper Items	89
Orphanage, New Guardian Angel, Joliet, plans of	94
Ottawa Indians	223
Owings, Col. Thomas Deye, Ironmaster of Kentucky	30

P

Pan American Union and the Memorial to Columbus	284
Papal Legate, 28th Eucharistic Congress, Installation of	310
Paray-le-Monial, 10th Eucharistic Congress	327
Paris, France, 6th Eucharistic Congress	321
Parker, Jane Marsh, in "Louis Phillippe in United States" ..	30
Parsons, General, reference to	221
Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, Correspondence	229
Pentecoste, Col. Dorsey and the Cahokia Property	25
Perkins, Charles E., quoted	174

Phillippe, Louis, "King of the French," Duke of Orleans, Legend	29, 53
Sketch of	30
Early Visits to Kentucky	30
"Mr. D'Orleans"	31
Death at Claremont	32
Teacher in Switzerland	34
Supposed gifts to Cathedral at Bardstown	39, 41, 42, 198, 199, 200
Objections to Legends of	193
Pierce, Gov. Walter M., Oregon, quoted	87
Pike, Rev. W. D., Objections to Allison's "Curious Legend" ..	195
Reference to	283
Plessis, Bishop of Quebec	117, 119, 123, 13
Quotation from Journal	241
Plunket, Rev. J. F., first pastor of St. Patrick's, Joliet	155
Pope; Innocent III and Transsubstantiation	293
Honorius III, quoted	296
Pius XI and "The Eucharist and Christian Life"	307
Pius XI and the Indulgences granted the Congressists	313
Urban IV and the Eucharistic Congress	319
Gregory X and the Holy Name Society	320
Leo XIII, reference to	323
Apostolic letter of Pope Leo XIII	342
Postscript to the Louis Phillippe Legend	53
Power of Attorney, Quebec Seminary to Father Gibault	21
Primm, Judge Wilson, quoted	244
Printing Press, and Its Importance ..	10
Program, official and unofficial, 28th International Eucharistic Congress	309
Provinces of the Franciscans	78
Puetz, Rev. Anselm, and the Franciscans	66
Sketch of	81
Pulliam, William E., originator of the Columbus Memorial	284

Q

Quarter, Rt. Rev. William, D. D., first Bishop of Chicago	352
Quebec Seminary and Father Gibault	21
Quinine, "Jesuit Powder," use of ..	183

R

Railways, Great Western	159
Illinois Central	160

Burlington	163, 168, 171
Land Grants for	162
Recall Sale of U. S. Grant's Farm in Missouri	138
Reims, France, 9th Eucharistic Congress	326
Reiselman, Rev. Henry, S. J., and the Indian Mission	132
Religious of the Sacred Heart, early history of	190
Report of Governor of Northwest Territory	7
Reynolds, John, Governor of Illi- nois	129
Richard, Rev. Gabriel, Sulpician..	237, 240
Richelieu, reference to	251
Rivet, Rev., "Missionary to the Indians," Pioneer Days.....	235
Robert, King of Naples, the Cena- colo	184
Rome, Italy, 16th Eucharistic Con- gress, 26th Eucharistic Con- gress	340
Rosati, Rt. Rev., Bishop, St. Louis	141
Rothensteiner, Rev. John, St. Louis, on Rev. Pierre Gibault, quoted	100
Louisiana Purchase, reference to	104
Ryan, John J., reference to.....	283

S

Sacred Heart Church, Montmatre, reference to	322
Saints in Our Day	90
Savine, Rev. F. L., Sketch of....	244
Scanlan, Rev. Father, and the Building Plans of New Guardian Angel Orphanage, Joliet..	94
School, First Catholic, in Kentucky	110
See of Gardar, Greenland.....	178
Segur, Monsignor Gaston.....	317
Seminary, First, at Baltimore....	17
Seneca Indian Chief, O'Bail, ad- dress of	224
Chief Alfaca, address of.....	227
Shakespeare, reference to	251
Shawnee Indians, Treaty.....	220
Shea, John Gilmory, reference to..	102
Sir Thomas More, Knight, and the Holy Eucharist	371
Sister Bernadine, Mother General of St. Francis Sisters.....	148
Sisters of Notre Dame exiles to America	69
Smith, E. Baker, of Bardstown, sketch of	33
Spalding, Rev., S. J., Extracts from writings of	210
Spalding, Rt. Rev. Bishop, quoted	41, 54, 197, 204

Reference to Biography of Bishop Flaget	58
Sketch of	56
Spinden, Prof. Herbert Joseph, quoted	188
St. Charles, Missouri, Frontier Church of Florissant.....	36
St. Clair, Arthur, Governor of Northwest Territory	5
Rev. Gibault's letter to.....	4
Extracts from the Report of... St. Clement of Rome, reference to writings of	6 358
St. Cyprian and the Holy Eucharist	368
St. Cyr, Rev. John Mary Irenaeus, and the First Church in Mod- ern Chicago	352
St. Cyril, quoted	369
St. Ferdinand Church, Florissant..	190
St. Francis De Sales, reference to	252
St. Francis' Hospital Sisters.....	143
List of Pioneers.....	145
Spirit of	145
Journey to America.....	147
Diary of Sister Crispina.....	153
From New York to Alton.....	275
St. John's Hospital	276
50th Anniversary of	278
St. Ignatius and the Society of Jesus, reference to	252
St. Ignatius of Antioch, reference to writings of	359
St. Irenaeus, quotation from writ- ings of	367
St. John Baptist De La Salle and his Teaching Order.....	82
St. Joseph's Cathedral and College, Bardstown	56, 210
St. Justin's First Apology, refer- ence to	360
St. Louis, permanent seat of the church in Mid-America.....	351
St. Louis, Rt. Rev. Rosati, first Bishop of	141
St. Mary of the Lake Chapel, Consecrated	192
St. Mauritz Convent, Description of	143
St. Paschal Baylon, Patron of the Eucharistic Congress	342
Sketch of	346
St. Patrick's Church, Joliet, Pio- neer Day of	155
St. Pierre, Rev. Paul, Pastor at Cahokia	12
St. Vincent De Paul, and the Sis- ters of Charity.....	252
Subjects for discussion at the vari- ous Eucharistic Congresses....	316
Sulpician Missionaries in Illinois..	233
Supreme Court Decision upon the Oregon School Law.....	86

T

Tamarois Mission	19
Tamisier, Marie-Martha B., Initiator of the International Eucharistic Congresses	316
Teaching Order, Established by St. John Baptist De La Salle....	83
"The Doctrine of the Apostles," discovery of	351
Theologians of Paris, Dispute among	291
Thienel, Rev. P. Mark, O. F. M....	70
Todd, and the property of Kaskaskia	7
Tonti, Italian, sketch of.....	269
Erection of Tablet in honor of..	264
Toulouse, France, 5th Eucharistic Congress	321
Tournai, Belgium, 17th Eucharistic Congress	332
Trappists in Kentucky	110
Life of	124
Description of Monastery.....	129
Reverses	131
Return to France	133
Reference to	245
Transsubstantiation of Bread and Wine	291
Trip to Teutopolis	72

U

Union, Pan-American, and the Hall of Heroes	286
University Chapel, St. Mary of the Lake, Consecrated	192

Unveiling of the Tablets in honor of Marquette, Joliet, La Salle and Tonti	264
--	-----

V

Van Quickenborne, Rev. Charles, S. J., Missionary among the Indians	191
Vienna, Austria, 23rd Eucharistic Congress	338
Views upon Transsubstantiation...	292
Vincennes, reference to.15, 17, 29, 233	

W

Waterloo, reference to.....	32
Waters, Willard O. and the California Bibliographies	176
Webb, Ben. J. quoted.....41, 198	
Sketch of	41
Weis, Rev. M., reference to.....	76
West Point, reference to	216
Western Railway System Established and Developed.....	159
Wyandot Indians	223
Wielcliffe, Hon. Charles A., reference to	59
Extracts from speech of.....	203
Wynne, Rev. John J., S. J., Author of "Jesuit Martyrs of North America"	91

Z

Zeigler, Captain, Commander of Fort McIntosh	227
Zurbonsen, Rev. A.....143, 275, 283	

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CONTENTS

ILLINOIS' FIRST CITIZEN — PIERRE GIBAULT	<i>Joseph J. Thompson.</i>	3
THE CURIOUS LEGEND OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN KENTUCKY	<i>Young E. Allison</i>	29
THE EXPULSION OF THE FRANCISCANS FROM PRUSSIA AND THEIR COMING TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE SUMMER OF 1875	<i>Eugene Hagedorn, O. F. M.</i>	66
THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS AT JOLIET, ILLINOIS	<i>A Christian Brother</i>	82
AN HISTORIC COURT DECISION - - - - -		85
EDITORIAL COMMENT - - - - -		90
ADVANCE IMPRESSION OF THE TENNESSEE EVOLUTION CASE	<i>Herbert C. Noonan, S. J.</i>	92
NEW GUARDIAN ANGEL ORPANAGE FOR ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO	<i>Joliet Evening Herald</i>	92

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VOLUME VIII

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ILLINOIS' FIRST CITIZEN, PIERRE GIBAUT

(Continued from former issues)

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION CONCERNING FATHER GIBAUT

The uncertainties relative to the ecclesiastical situation dragged on, and influenced the lives of many, as well as the progress of the Church, not only in the Illinois country, but throughout all the possessions of the then United States.

Father Gibault returned to Cahokia, however, and the properties within the village having reverted back in a sense to the congregation, and the residents being entirely satisfied with Father Gibault's return to minister amongst them, he seems to have considered that the time was ripe for him to settle down and make some provision for his old age and inevitable decline.

Discourteous and overbearing though the newcomers in the old French localities were, the officers having to do with the administration of government had some sense of justice, and felt that the French residents ought to be protected. Accordingly, when Virginia ceded all its claims to the Western territory to the United States, it included in the deed of cession a saving clause guaranteeing to the ancient French, as they were called, their possessions. This saving clause was incorporated in the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio River, and Congress, when it assembled, enacted laws in conformity thereto. Generally speaking, as the law finally stood, the head of each family was entitled to a claim of 400 acres, and each militiaman was entitled to a claim of 100 acres, to be allotted by the governor of the territory.

As has been noted, Father Gibault was neither the head of a family nor a militiaman, and consequently received nothing under

the saving clause. Everybody who spoke of this contemporaneously felt that an injustice was perpetrated upon the good priest, and no doubt he was urged to resort to Congress for help in the premises. At any rate he did petition Congress as follows:

“No. 24

Kahokia, May 1, 1790.

“The undersigned, memorialist has the honor to represent to your excellency, that, from the moment of the conquest of Illinois by Colonel George Rogers Clark, he has not been backward in venturing his life on the many occasions in which he found that his presence was useful, and sometimes necessary, and at all times sacrificing his property, which he gave for the support of the troops, at the same price that he could have received in Spanish dollars, and for which, however, he has received only paper dollars, of which he has had no information since he sent them addressed to the Commissioner of Congress, who required a statement of the depreciation of them at the Belle Riviere in 1783, with an express promise; in reply, that particular attention should be paid to his account because it was known to be no way exaggerated.

In reality, he parted with his tithes and his beasts, only to set an example to his parishioners, who began to perceive that it was intended to pillage them, and abandon them afterwards, which really took place. The want of seven thousand eight hundred livres, of which the nonpayment of the American notes has deprived him the use, has obliged him to sell two good slaves, who would now be the support of his old age, and for the want of whom he now finds himself dependent on the public, who though well served, are very rarely led to keep their promises, except that part, who, employing his time in their service, are supplanted by the secular power, that is to say, by the civil government.

The love of his country and of liberty, have also led the memorialist to reject all the advantages offered to him by the Spanish government, and he endeavored by every means in his power; by exertions and exhortations, and by letters to the principal inhabitants to retain every person under the dominion of the United States, in expectation of better times, and giving them to understand that, our lives and property being employed twelve years in the aggrandizement and preservation of the conquests of the United States, would at last receive an acknowledgement, and be compensated by the enlightened and upright ministers who, sooner or later, would come to examine into, and relieve us from, our sad situation. We begin to see the accomplishment of these hopes under the happy government of your excellency, and as your memorialist has reason to believe, from proofs which would be too long to explain here, one of the number who has been the most forward in risking his life and fortune for his country. He also hopes that his demand will be listened to favorably. It is this: The Missionaries, like lords, have at all times possessed two

tracts of land near this village, one three acres in front, which produces but little hay, three quarters being useless by a great morass, the other of two acres in front, which may be cultivated and which the memorialist will have cultivated with care, and proposes to have a dwelling erected on it, with a garden and orchard, in case his claim is accepted. Your excellency may think, perhaps that this might injure some of the inhabitants; but it will not. It would be difficult to hire them to cause an enclosure to be made of the size of these tracts, so much land have they more than they can cultivate. May it please your excellency, then to grant them to the memorialist as belonging to the domain of the United States, and to give him a concession to be enjoyed in full propriety in his private name and not as to a missionary and priest, to pass to his successor, otherwise the memorialist, not wishing to labor for others, would not accept it. It is for the services he has already rendered, and those he still hopes to render, as far as circumstances may offer, and he may be capable, and particularly on the bounty with which you relieve those who stand in need of assistance, that he founds his demand. In hopes of being soon of the number of those who praise Heaven for your fortunate arrival in this country, and who desire your prosperity in everything, your memorialist has the honor of being, with the most profound respect,

Your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

A. GIBAULT, Priest.

To His Excellency, Arthur St. Clair, Major General of the Army of the United States, Governor of the territory possessed by the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, etc., etc."

Here then is the story of Father Gibault's connection with the conquest of the Illinois country, his labors and sacrifices, most modestly told, and, finally, his request for a reward, which, it will be agreed, was most insignificant by comparison with the benefits conferred by him.

In the meantime the governor appointed by Congress, General Arthur St. Clair, visits the territory, makes himself thoroughly acquainted with all the conditions, and transmits his report to the Secretary of State, who was no less a personage than the renowned Thomas Jefferson, and who in turn delivers the report, with notes and recommendations, to the President of the United States, George Washington. In due course President Washington sends the report, together with the notes and recommendations of the Secretary of State and a letter of transmittal, to Congress.

Because these documents clear up and round out so many of the facts necessarily involved in the life of Father Gibault the entire correspondence is here reproduced:

First Congress

3rd Session

No. 7

Land Claimants in the Northwestern Territory Communicated
to Congress, February 18, 1791.

United States, February 18, 1791.

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the

House of Representatives:—

I have received from the Secretary of State a report on the proceedings of the governor of the Northwestern territory, Kaskaskia, Kahokia and Prairie, under the resolution of Congress of August 29th, 1788, which, containing matter proper for your consideration, I lay the same before you.

G. WASHINGTON.

The Secretary of State, having received from Arthur St. Clair, Esquire, Governor of the Northwestern territory, a report of his proceedings for carrying into effect the resolve of Congress of August 29th, 1788, respecting the lands of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, la Prairie du Rocher and Kahokia, which report was enclosed to him in a letter bearing date the 10th instant, and observing therein several passages proper to be laid before the Legislature, has extracted the same, and thereupon makes to the President of the United States the following report:

In that which he made on the 14th of December, 1790, relative to the execution of the same resolution of Congress at Post Vincennes, he brought under certain general heads of description the claims to lands at that place, which had been provided for by the said resolution of Congress. To keep the subject simplified, as well as short, he will observe that the cases at Kaskaskia described in the extract, marked A, belong to the fourth class of the said report for St. Vincennes; that those at Kaskaskia, of the extract B, belong to the fifth class of the report for St. Vincennes, and that those of Kahokia, in the extract C, belong to the sixth class of the same report, and may be comprehended in the provisions to be made for them.

The extracts marked D, E, F, G and H describe other cases out of the provisions of the resolution, which have arisen at Kaskaskia and Kahokia, differing from each other, as well as from all the former classes.

The extracts marked I, K, state that the line which, by the resolve of Congress of June 20th, 1788, had been so described as to place the lands to be allotted to the inhabitants of Kaskaskia and Kahokia in a fertile and convenient situation, and had been so shifted, by the resolu-

tion of August 29th, 1788, as to throw those allotments into parts too distant and dangerous to be cultivated by them, and pray that the line of June 20th, may be re-established.

The extract L brings into view the purchase of Flint and Parker, in the Illinois country, which may need attention in the formation of a land law.

The extracts M, N, O, with the papers they refer to, contain the reasoning urged by the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, Prairie and Kahokia, against the demand of the expenses of certain surveys made of their lands, neither their desire nor for any use of theirs.

P explains certain demands for the revoked emissions of continental money remaining in the office of a notary public of Kaskaskia, and Q the expediency of having a printing press established at Marietta.

Which several matters the Secretary of State is of opinion should be laid before the Legislature for their consideration.

February 17, 1791.

TH. JEFFERSON.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO

A. Among the claims for land that have been rejected, there are several that are founded on purchases made from individual Indians, and the conveyances set forth that they were inherited from their parents, were not the property of the nation. It could not, however, be discovered that any division of the lands of the Kaskaskia Indians had ever taken place among themselves, and the chief of that nation has applied to be confirmed a tract of land of about five or six thousand acres, where their village was situated not long ago, which would take in the parcels that have been sold and applied for as above. On this claim, no decision has been made. It appeared to be a subject that ought to be referred to Congress; but I may be allowed to observe, if one Indian sale is approved it is probable that a great many will be brought forward.

B. A gentleman of the name of Todd had been appointed by the Governor of Virginia, Lieutenant of the county of Illinois, and some few grants of land are said to have been made by him, although by his instructions, which he put upon record at Kaskaskia, he had no authority to that purpose, but seemed rather to have been restrained. A copy of those instructions were transmitted by the Secretary. On Mr. Todd's leaving that part of the country, a person of the name of De Numbrun was substituted, who made grants of land without number. The power of granting lands was also assumed by the civil courts that had been established, and that assumed power they used very liberally, still pretending, however, that they had been authorized so to do by Mr. Todd, who is styled Grand Judge of the United States. It is said probably that such power was never delegated to the courts by Mr. Todd; at least it does not appear. All those grants have been rejected, but I beg leave to suggest,

that it might be proper to allow a right of pre-emption to those who have actually settled and made improvements under them. Some of the parties seem respectively to have had two different objects in view—the applicants, and the engrossing lands for a very small consideration, and the grantors, the accumulation of prerequisites, the courts and sub-lieutenants having exacted \$4.00 for each grant. There are a number of American settlers in possession of such grants, whose claims have been equally rejected; their case seems to be a hard one. Not doubting the authority of the courts, which they saw every day exercised, they applied for lands, and obtained them, and made settlements, in consequence, distinct from those of the French; but having removed into that country after the year 1783, they do not come within the resolution of Congress which describes who are to be considered as ancient settlers, and confirmed in their possessions. As Americans they have been peculiar objects of Indian depredation, while their neighbors, the French, from having had more intercourse with the Indians, and frequently inter-marrying with them, until very lately, were generally safe; they have, in consequence, been driven off of the lands they had improved, and have lost both their time and their labor. No. 7 is a representation from them upon this subject.

C. No. 14 is a representation of the inhabitants of Kahokia respecting their common. What they set forth is true, both with respect to their having been long in the occupation of it, and the quality of what they ask for upon the hills.

D. At Kaskaskia the Jesuits held valuable possessions; the buildings are gone entirely to ruin, but the lands are still of some value. On the suppression of the order in France, the officers of the French King disposed of their property at that place, by public sale, but before the sale took place the country had been ceded to Great Britain—a circumstance that was not known there. The British officer who took possession of that crown considered the sale illegal, and laid hold of the property; and the purchaser, a Mr. Beauvais, and his descendants, have been kept out ever since. A son of Mr. Beauvais now lays claim to it in virtue of the purchase, and throws himself upon the United States to be confirmed in what yet remains of the property for which his father paid a very large sum of money.

E. The same steps were taken to obtain a knowledge of the lands that were claimed by the people at Kahokia as at Kaskaskia, and after due examination, orders of survey for such as fell within the resolution of Congress were put into the hands of Mr. Girardin, the only person that could be found in all that country who understood anything of surveying. There are a great many persons in that quarter, also, whose claims have been rejected, who, nevertheless, may be properly considered as having an equitable right, at least, to the pre-emption.

F. No. 24 is the request of a Mr. Gibault for a small piece of land, that has been in the occupation of the priests at Kahokia for a long time, having been assigned to them by the French; but he wishes to possess it in propriety; and it is true that he was very useful to General Clarke upon many occasions, and has suffered very considerable losses. I believe no injury would be done to any one by his request being granted, but it was not for me to give away the lands of the United States.

G. No. 9 is a plat of the reserved tract, including Fort Chartres. It is,

however, to be observed, that part of this tract appears to have been granted before the country was in possession of the French.

H. Great numbers of people have abandoned the Illinois country, and gone over to the Spanish territory. A claim, however, is still kept up by them to their ancient possessions, but it is to be remarked, that very few grants were made by the French in fee simple. When any person quitted their possessions, the soil seems to have reverted, of course, to the domain of the King, and was regranted at the pleasure of the officials commanding. It is presumed that, strictly, the possessions of all those who have so expatriated themselves are fallen to the United States, had they even been granted originally in fee simple, and may be disposed of as they see fit; but the loss of the people is severely felt. May I be permitted to suggest that a law declaring those possessions escheated, unless the former owners return and occupy them within a certain time, would not be an improper measure?

I. Mr. Samuel Baird was appointed to survey the lands held by the people of Kaskaskia, and to run the lines that had been directed by Congress to embrace the donations. On examination of the claims, however, it was found that many grants of land had been made which would fall to the eastward of the line to be drawn from the mouth of the river au Marie, and as all grants that proceeded either from the government of France, that of Great Britain, or of the State of Virginia, on or before the year 1783, were to be confirmed, the running of that line was delayed until Congress should be informed that it would not take in all the claims, and therefore appeared to be incurring an unnecessary expense.

K. The donations to the ancient settlers have not been laid out, because, at Kaskaskia and the Prairie du Rocher, no person could be found to do it. At Kahokia no authority was given to Mr. Girardin for that purpose, but nothing, I presume, has been done in consequence of it: for the alteration that was made in the location of these donations by the act of the 29th of August, from the West to the East side of the Hills or Ridge of rocks, throws them at such a distance from their present possessions (the hills being of a considerable breadth and not very fit for cultivation) that, in the existing circumstances of the country, they could not possibly occupy them. They humbly pray that the location pointed out by the act of the 20th of June, 1788, may be restored.

L. A contract subsists between Flint and Parker and the late Board of Treasury for a great tract of land in the Illinois country. No part of the contract has, I believe, been complied with on their parts, and probably never will; but if it is attended to before a law passes for erecting an office for the sale of the lands, it may create embarrassment hereafter.

M. Orders of survey were issued for all the claims at Kaskaskia that appeared to be founded agreeably to the resolution of Congress, and surveys were made of the greater part of them. A part only of those surveys, however, have been returned, because the people objected to paying the surveyor, and it is too true that they are ill able to pay. The Illinois country, and as well that upon the Ouabash, has been involved in great distress ever since it fell under the American dominion. With great cheerfulness the people furnished the troops under General Clarke, and the Illinois regiment, with everything they could spare, and often with much more than they could spare, with any convenience

to themselves; most of the certificates for those supplies are still in their hands, unliquidated and unpaid; and in many instances, where application for payment has been made to the State of Virginia, under whose authority the certificates were granted, it has been refused. The Illinois regiment being disbanded, a set of men, pretending the authority of Virginia, embodied themselves, and a scene of general depredation and plunder ensued. To this succeeded three successive and extraordinary inundations from the Mississippi, which either swept away their crops or prevented their being planted. The loss of the greatest part of their trade with the Indians, which was a great resource, came upon them at this juncture, as well as the hostile incursion of some of the tribes which had ever before been in friendship with them; and to these was added the loss of their whole last crop of corn by an untimely frost. Extreme misery could not fail to be the consequence of such accumulated misfortunes. The paper No. 5 contains the orders for a compensation to the surveyor, and No. 6 is the representation of the people praying to be excused from paying it.

N. Having finished the business at Kaskaskia as far as it was possible at that time, on the 5th day of April I embarked, and proceeded up the Mississippi to Kahokia, having stopped at Fort de Chartres, and visited the village of the Prairie du Rocher, which is about a league from there, by land, on the way. Mr. Baird had been directed to make the surveys there as well as at Kaskaskia, the same objections to paying for them were raised there as at the latter place. No. 8 is a power of the inhabitants to make representations to me on the subject, which was done.

O. No returns of survey from Kahokia are as yet come to hand, and it is probable that not many have been made, as the same objections to paying for them were raised as elsewhere, and the inhabitants of that place are joined in the remonstrances which have been made by those of the other villages.

P. When the two emissions of paper money were called in by Congress, a considerable sum of those emissions were lodged in the office of a notary public at Kaskaskia, by the direction of the county of Illinois there it yet remains, and the owners have received no satisfaction for it of any kind. They complain of this, and it would seem not without reason.

Q. Before I close this report it may be necessary to mention the necessity there is for a printing press in the western territory. The laws adopted, or made by the Legislature, are declared to be binding upon the people until they are disapproved by Congress. There is no way of giving them any publicity but by having them read at the courts, and but few people become thereby acquainted with them: magistrates who are to carry them into execution are strangers to them, for the Secretary does not conceive it to be his duty to furnish them with copies. Indeed the business of his office increases so fast, that it would be impossible to do it; besides, they are in English, and the greatest part of the inhabitants do not understand a word of it; the translation of them, therefore, seems to be necessary, and that a sufficient number of them should be printed in both languages; and that can only be done in the territory where the original rolls are deposited. Every public act and execution of what kind soever, I was myself obliged to translate into French, and having no person to assist me, it made the business extremely troublesome and laborious.

Congress having considered all these papers, supplemented by other information, passed a bill, which became a law, covering virtually all of the questions raised in the report, and reading as follows:

An Act granting lands to the inhabitants and settlers at Vincennes and the Illinois country, in the territory northwest of the Ohio, and for confirming them in their possessions.

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That four hundred acres of land be given to each of those persons, who in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, were heads of families at Vincennes or in the Illinois country, on the Mississippi, and who since that time have removed from one of the said places to the other. And the Governor of the territory northwest of the Ohio is hereby directed, to cause the same to be laid out for them, at their own expense, either at Vincennes or in the Illinois country, as they shall severally elect.

Section 2. *And be it further enacted and declared*, That the heads of families at Vincennes or in the Illinois country in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, who afterwards removed without the limits of the said territory, are notwithstanding, entitled to the donation of four hundred acres of land made by the resolve of Congress of the twenty-ninth of August, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight; and the governor of the said territory, upon application to him for that purpose, is hereby directed to cause the same to be laid out for such heads of families or their heirs; and shall also cause to be laid off and confirmed to such persons the several tracts of land which they may have possessed, and which before the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three may have been allotted to them according to the laws and usages of the government under which they had respectively settled; *Provided nevertheless*, That if such persons or their heirs do not return and occupy the said lands within five years, such lands shall be considered as forfeited to the United States.

Section 3. *And be it further enacted*, That one hundred and fifty acres of land, heretofore in possession of the Piankeshaw Indians, and now under actual improvement, and constituting a part of the village of Vincennes, be given to the persons who are severally in possession of the said land.

Section 4. *And be it further enacted*, That where lands have been actually improved and cultivated at Vincennes, or in the Illinois country, under a supposed grant of the same, by any commandant or court claiming authority to make such grant, the governor of the said territory be, and he hereby is empowered to confirm to the persons who made such improvements, their heirs or assigns, the lands supposed to have been granted as aforesaid, or such parts thereof as he, in his discretion, may judge reasonable, not exceeding to any one person, four hundred acres.

Section 5. *And be it further enacted*, That a tract of land, containing about five thousand four hundred acres, which for many years has been fenced and used by the inhabitants of Vincennes as a common, also a tract of land including the villages of Cohos and Prairie du Pont, and heretofore used by the inhabitants of the said villages as a common, be, and the same are hereby

appropriated to the use of the inhabitants of Vincennes and of the said villages respectively, to be used by them as a common, and otherwise disposed of by law.

Section 6. *And be it further enacted.* That the governor of the said territory be authorized to make a grant of land not exceeding one hundred acres, to each person who hath not obtained any donation of land from the United States, and who, on the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, was enrolled in the militia at Vincennes or in the Illinois country, and has done militia duty, the said land to be laid out at the expense of the grantees, and in such form and place as the governor shall direct. *Provided nevertheless,* That no claim founded upon purchase or otherwise, shall be admitted within a tract of land heretofore occupied by the Kaskaskia nation of Indians, and including their village, which is hereby appropriated to the use of the said Indians.

Section 7. *And be it further enacted,* That two lots of land heretofore in the occupation of the priests at Cahokia, and situated near that village, be, and the same is hereby granted in fee to P. Gibault; and that a tract of land at Kaskaskia, formerly occupied by the Jesuits, be laid off and confirmed to St. Jam Beouvais, who claims the same in virtue of a purchase thereof.

Section 8. *And be it further enacted,* That so much of the act of Congress of twenty-eighth of August, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, as refers to the locations of certain tracts of land directed to be run out and reserved for donations, to the ancient settlers in the Illinois country, be, and the same is hereby repealed, and the governor of the said territory is directed to lay out the same, agreeably to the act of Congress of the twentieth of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

Approved, March 3rd, 1791.

(United States Statutes at Large, v. 1, pp. 221-222).

PREFECT APOSTOLIC JOHN CARROLL INTERPOSES

According to its lights, therefore, Congress expressed the gratitude of the country to Father Gibault for his valuable assistance in its hour of need. The pecuniary value of the congressional gift may be judged from a representation made by the inhabitants of Cahokia to the Seminary of Quebec, under date of June 6, 1787. It will be remembered that the property of the Holy Family Church at Cahokia had been alienated by the last pastor, and the title was thrown into a dispute which lasted over a period of years, but eventually the village property was returned to the Church through the activities of Rev. Paul de St. Pierre. The marguilliers or trustees in giving a description of the property speak of the parcels involved in the act of Congress as follows:

“Since the three arpents of land will become a charge against the mission on account of the expense for fences and maintenance, we consulted with Monsieur St. Pierre (the pastor) and decided to rent it, and after three announcements there has been bid only the

very moderate sum of 16 to 18 livres per annum for each arpent, which is not enough to cover the cost of maintenance."

It has accordingly been quite properly referred to as a property of no value, and of uncertain title, and it was undoubtedly the belief of all those interested in the matter that Congress had full power of disposition, not only of this little parcel, but also of the more extensive property of the Jesuits at Kaskaskia.

Father Gibault was not, however, to receive the congressional bounty without objection. The prefect apostolic in his magnificent career established a reputation for a great solicitude for the inviolability of the property rights of the Church. All through the Atlantic states where church properties had been secured by grant or otherwise he found it necessary to fight to retain them, and was consequently, perhaps, on his guard continuously. At any rate he became aware of the grant by Congress to Father Gibault, and seems to have moved immediately in the matter. This and other incidents and events set in motion a correspondence between Prefect Apostolic Carroll, the Bishop of Quebec and Father Gibault, which is both interesting and enlightening, and is consequently reproduced in full:

"Monseigneur:

The necessity, in which I find myself, of asking your Lordship for light on a rather delicate matter affords me at the same time an opportunity to assure you of the esteem I entertain for your character and episcopal virtues.

Encouraged by the favorable recommendations with which M. Huet de la Valiniere was supplied by his ecclesiastical superiors in Canada, I very willingly accepted his offer to go to Illinois and I have named him my vicar general there. Since he left, I have received letters written at Post Vincennes by another priest named Gibault, who tells me that for nineteen years he himself has been in that section vicar general of the bishops of Quebec. It is about this, Monseigneur, that I should like to be instructed, and upon which I dare to ask your Lordship to throw some light; especially since reports have reached me concerning M. Gibault's conduct that are very unfavorable to him.

I learned, some time ago, that your Lordship was dissatisfied with me because I meddled in the ecclesiastical government of the Illinois. I did so because I believed it was included in my jurisdiction and I had no idea that your Lordship extended his pastoral care to those regions. No motive of ambition actuated me; and if you propose to provide for the spiritual needs there, you will save me from great embarrassment and relieve my conscience of a burden which weighs very heavily upon it. In such an event, my only anxiety would be that the United States would not allow the exercise of power, even of a spiritual nature, to a subject of great Britain.

I have the honor to be, with the most respectful devotion, your Lordship's very humble and very obedient servant,

J. Carroll,

Ecclesiastical Superior of the United States.

Baltimore, May 5, 1788."

The Bishop of Quebec answered this letter under date of October 6, 1788, replying as follows:

"M. J. Carroll,
Prefect Apostolic at Baltimore.
Sir:

Your letter of May 5, having only lately been handed me, I make it my duty to reply to it and to satisfy you about the subjects of which it treats.

His Eminence Cardinal Antonelli, having learned that M. De la Valiniere and the Abbe de St. Pierre had been sent to the Illinois with faculties from you, wrote to M. de Villars, vicar General at Paris of the bishop of Quebec, to ask him for information thereon, saying that the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda was utterly in the dark in relation to this fact. Upon the report of M. de Villars, Bishop Desgly, my deceased predecessor, wrote last year in these terms: 'By the treaty of peace of 1783, the county situated south of the St. Lawrence river from the 45th degree of latitude having been ceded to the Anglo-Americans, and the Illinois being within this portion, the Bishop of Quebec has not sent any permanent missionary there since that time; it is even presumable that the government would take it in bad part if he did so. Hence things will be left as they are until a new order is established. It appears, indeed, that M. de la Valiniere and M. de St. Pierre were appointed to the Illinois region by the prefect apostolic of New England. I do not know the extent of their faculties of which they render no account to me; and, as for the rest, I am not disposed to disturb them about it, etc.

Such, sir, were the sentiments of my predecessor on the subject of these missions. It is true that they are incontestibly in the diocese of Quebec according to our original grant, and also that the Seminary of Quebec for a long time had the right to nominate a superior among the Tamarois, a prerogative which the said seminary resigned only in favor of the bishop of Quebec. Be that as it may, I believe it is prudent for us under the circumstances to accommodate ourselves until a new order adjusted to the circumstances of the time is inaugurated. Although I am not at liberty to assent to the dismemberment of this part of my diocese without the consent of my coadjutor and of my clergy, Divine Providence having permitted the Illinois, etc., to fall into the power of the United States, the spiritual charge of which is confided to your care, I urgently beseech you to continue for the present to provide for these missions, as it would be difficult for me to supply them myself without perhaps giving some offense to the British government. The testimony that is rendered on all sides

to your virtue convinces me that the faithful of that section will rejoice to have you for their ecclesiastical superior.

True it is that M. Gibault was nominated twenty years ago as vicar general for the Illinois country; but since that time the episcopal see of Quebec has twice changed its incumbent without his faculties having been renewed. Complaints of different kinds, especially a suspicion of treason towards the government, caused my predecessors to entertain some antipathy towards him, so much so that I propose to give him no employment for the future. That would be easier for you to do. * * *

I received a letter from him this year in which he asks to come back to the Province of Quebec. After the disadvantageous opinion that the government has formed of him. I can not prudently consent to his return. Nevertheless, if you judge it proper to continue him as a missionary, I ratify in advance all that you may be pleased to ordain therein, either in regard to him or to other missionaries now there or to be sent. Observe, please, that M. de la Valiniere is a man of very good morals, but that, as we have experienced in Canada, his turbulent spirit is capable to causing much trouble to his associates. As for Detroit, I shall continue to send missionaries there as heretofore.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, with sincere veneration, in union with your holy sacrifices, sir, your humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) Jean Francois,
Bishop of Quebec."

After receiving this letter Bishop Carroll, on January 20, 1790, wrote Father Gibault as follows:

"Baltimore, Jan. 20, 1790.

To M. Gibault, Priest at Post Vincennes.

Sir:

It happened very unfortunately for the affairs of your church as well as for my pleasure, that the bearers of your letters of June 16 and July 28 arrived and departed from here during my absence. You wrong M. de la Valiniere by imputing to him alone the accusations of which I made mention in my former letter. Travelers who returned to Philadelphia from Kaskaskia had mentioned these things even before his departure from there, and without knowing who was the priest whom these accusations particularly concerned, I had commanded him, at the time of his departure from Philadelphia, to send me some information on this subject. Since that time I have received from different sources the accounts of which I informed you in my last letter. In fact I regret to tell you that Monseigneur the Bishop of Quebec in a letter which he has written me, called to my notice that his predecessors had thought during the last years that they ought not to confide so much in you for all that part of the West as they had formerly done. Since the departure from here of Father Jacobin named Le Dru, I have not received, according to his agreement with me, a letter from his provincial in France, who was

to certify to the good conduct of Father Le Dru and authorize his stay in America and out of his monastery. On the contrary, I have received by way of New York some details on the conduct of this monk in Acadia which weigh me down with sorrow and make me blame my too great readiness in giving him power even for a very limited time. I beg of you to procure and send me by the first opportunity, some reliable information concerning him and his conduct at Kaskaskia. I am also worried with regard to M. de St. Pierre. He left here without any power to administer the sacraments, for at that time I possessed no right to grant it to him, and since his departure I have been unable to make up my mind to send him that power, because I am in no wise assured that he came to America with the consent of the superiors of his order or with such approbation as the usages of ecclesiastical discipline require. M. de la Valiniere told me, a long time ago, that M. de St. Pierre paid no attention to the authority that the former exercised on my behalf. Send me some more information in this matter if you so desire. It has been a long time since I have received news from M. de la Valiniere. A merchant from New York told me that he had seen him at New Orleans in the month of August, and that he was planning to come here by sea.

I am very much obliged to you for all the details into which you have entered respecting the possessions of the church at Post Vincennes, and, if the occasion presents itself, I shall try to profit by it so as to put the titles on a solid foundation.

The cases concerning which you agreed with the marguilliers to submit to my decision, are set forth in the papers herewith enclosed, and I have added my opinion on each one. I trust that it may be in accord with your private interest and satisfaction, as it is, so it seems to me, in accord with justice. Recommending myself to your holy sacrifices and prayers, I am with respect, sir,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

J. Carroll."

On January 20, 1792, the Bishop of Baltimore again wrote to the Bishop of Quebec:

"To Monseigneur Jean Francois,
Bishop of Quebec, at Quebec,
Monseigneur:

I received with emotion and veneration the congratulations which your Lordship did me the honor to address to me concerning the establishment of the new diocese of Baltimore. May this establishment become, what you predict, a stepping stone towards the growth of the true faith in the vast regions which my diocese embraces. May it ever be supported by episcopal virtues, Monseigneur, such as yours and by a clergy as edifying as that of Canada. For my part, I shall always consider it my duty to maintain with the see of Quebec not only a communion faith and a fraternal union of charity, but also to have towards your Lordship a respectful confidence and to give proof of this by the communication of all my views and projects to preserve

and enlarge the kingdom of Jesus Christ. Considering you as my elder in the bishopric and my model, I shall endeavor to liken my conduct to the principles which animate yours.

It is true—and for this I cannot thank Providence enough—the venerable M. Nagot, in consequence of the arrangements made during my stay in Europe, is here in Baltimore at the head of a seminary together with four other priests and six young ecclesiastics, four of whom are either English or American. They have secured a suitable house for themselves and all the exercises are performed there.

Besides the seminary, we have recently opened a school or Catholic college, some fifteen miles from here, for the literary and moral instruction of Catholic youth. I sincerely hope that Providence will draw many of the students in this college into the service of the Church, and that it will become a nursery for the seminary I shall then have, if I am still living, or my successors will have, the consolation of giving to our flock for their own ministers only priests brought up under our very eyes, and on whom we will be able to depend with moral assurance.

This is, then, Monseigneur, what you may write to M. Hody, who did me the honor to write to me some time ago, and to whom I intend to reply shortly.

I do not know whether they have written to you from Rome concerning the decision reached there in regard to the extent of our respective dioceses. All the territory of the United States has been placed under my jurisdiction. Apparently it was believed, and perhaps rightly, that our government would take unbrage at seeing you exercise spiritual authority in its domains. I am expecting this spring a few well chosen ecclesiastics from France to serve in the Illinois and at Post Vincennes.

You will greatly oblige me by procuring for me a sure and exact notice of the property which your church or your seminary possessed in the United States. These possessions belong to you still, according to our laws, if you have not lost possession of them through some act on your part. Last year M. Gibault and some other persons, by means of a statement which I regard false, obtained the grant of some ecclesiastical property situated at Kaskaskia and at Post Vincennes. (Cahokia?) I am taking steps to have that grant invalidated, but I am very much hampered because I lack definite knowledge concerning these possessions. I expect from you, Monseigneur, some information which will serve to defeat iniquity and advance our two dioceses.

I have the honor to be, in union with your holy sacrifices and with the profoundest respect, Monseigneur, your Lordship's

Very humble and obedient servant,

J. Bishop of Baltimore."

Three days after writing the last letter Bishop Carroll wrote Father Gibault:

“Baltimore, January 23, 1792.

Sir:

I have not yet had the good fortune to receive an answer to the letters which I gave to M. Vigo for you and for other persons in the month of December, 1790. I was informed, a short time ago, that the bearer of these different letters, was captured by the Indians. It is a misfortune for me. I had indeed need of information, and I was flattering myself that those letters would bring it. Among other things, I saw in the month of March of last year, the announcement of a law passed by the Congress of the United States, by which a certain possession, hitherto ecclesiastic, is transferred to you to be your private and particular property: and another property situated at Kaskaskia which they say belonged to the Jesuits, was granted to a certain individual. I should like to be instructed concerning this, for I am in the hope of receiving soon some helpers to aid you in your laborious duties, and it is important to preserve for you, for them, and for your successors the possessions of the Church.

I am happy to be able to say that a number of priests and young ecclesiastics from the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris came here last June, and that M. Nagot is the superior. He was formerly superior of the large seminary of his congregation in Paris. I do not doubt at all but that this establishment will become, with the help of God, a source of benediction on my diocese, and especially in that section where you are.

You will see by the circular letter for the inhabitants of the Post Vincennes, Kaskaskia, etc., that the ecclesiastics, whom I am still expecting from France, are destined for their service. You will doubtless receive them with joy, and brotherly kindness, I shall recommend them to you very warmly, and I trust that you will interest yourself so that the expenses of their long voyage may be defrayed, at least their expense from here. I have the honor to be, in union with your holy sacrifices, etc.,

Your very obedient servant,
J. Bishop of Baltimore.

On May 4, 1792, Bishop Carroll addressed still another letter to the Bishop of Quebec on this subject:

“Baltimore, May 4, 1792.

Monseigneur:

I had the honor to inform you in my last letter, Monseigneur, that the possession of Kaskaskia, to which your seminary of Quebec lays claim, had been granted to an inhabitant of that place, through some deceit managed in Congress; and that at the same time M. Gibault obtained, as his personal property, the possession belonging heretofore to the priest of Cahokia. Some two months ago, I presented to General Washington, president of the United States, a memorandum in which I introduced a few words relating to this double grant; but not having any exact knowledge of the titles of ownership of these possessions, I was not able to lay stress on this matter, which, never-

theless, I intend to take up again as soon as Congress reassembles, if in the meantime I can procure the required information. It seems to me that if the directors of the Seminary of your episcopal town, with whom, as I have been told, are deposited the titles of those possessions, were kind enough to entrust them to some responsible person, and if their right were proved, either the possessions would be returned, or an equivalent would be given.

We have here in the Seminary a young clerical from your diocese, who at present is studying theology. He is from Montreal, his name is Perinault. His father is now in France. This young ecclesiastic is very virtuous and of an excellent character. He has asked me to present to you, as his very honored and very worthy bishop, the homage of his esteem and submission, and also to ask if you think that it would be well for him to finish his theology here, and to take the sacred orders before returning to your diocese. In such a case, he will present to your Lordship his vows in order to have the necessary letter of dismissal.

M. Burke, formerly one of the directors of your seminary being the one who gave me the first information in regard to the titles of that seminary, to the possessions of Kaskaskia (Cahokia?) I have asked him to send me all the necessary information to establish these titles: on my part I am sending him by this same occasion copies of the act of Congress and an extract of the report which was presented to this body, and which resulted in its decree.

M. Burke has expressed some desire to come to my diocese and I consented, on condition that you, Monseigneur, should have no objection to his leaving, and that you think that he has the qualifications required to serve the Lord in the vineyard which He intrusted to me. M. Burke will show you the papers which I addressed to him.

It will be a very great satisfaction for me to learn, on the return of M. Delavau, that the new constitution of Canada is not prejudicial in any way to the welfare of true religion.

I have the honor of being with the sentiments of the greatest esteem and veneration, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

J. Bishop of Baltimore."

And finally, the Bishop of Quebec writes Bishop Carroll under date of May 18, 1792:

"Montreal, May 18, 1792.

To Monseigneur, the Bishop of Baltimore.

Monseigneur:

I have communicated to the gentlemen of the Seminary of Quebec the paragraph in your last letter which concerned the mission of the Tamarois. The papers, here enclosed, which were given me after my departure on the pastoral visitation, may give you, Monseigneur, some light on the subject in question. On my part it would be impossible to throw any more light on the matter, inasmuch as I never had but a very imperfect knowledge of it. But as I am per-

suauded that your efforts tend only to the greatest glory of God, and to the welfare of the faithful of those regions, I in no wise doubt the success of the measures which you may take with the gentlemen of the Seminary for the advantage of that mission which Divine Providence has placed under your protecting care.

I have the honor to be, with a most respectful veneration, Monseigneur, etc.,

Jean Francois, Bishop of Quebec."

In this correspondence we have the story of Father Gibault's supposed dereliction in reference to church property. How culpable the good priest really was may be judged in the light of all the circumstances. Whether Bishop Carroll succeeded in securing a revocation of the grant by Congress, we are not advised, but of one thing one can speak with certitude, and that is that Father Gibault never received the land. Some writers have said that because of Bishop Carroll's interposition in this matter Father Gibault left the American side of the Mississippi, and engaged in the ministry of the church on the Spanish side. Whether or not this was the direct cause of his going to the other side of the Mississippi perhaps will never be known, but any one who has followed this narrative will agree that he certainly was not blameworthy for leaving a jurisdiction that had meant nothing but grief and abuse for him, to enter another where he had been repeatedly invited, and where the prospects for respect and even honor were bright. Whatever the cause was, Father Gibault left Cahokia in 1792, and became pastor at New Madrid. We will be able to follow his subsequent career in a succeeding chapter.

THE LAND DEALINGS CLARIFIED

To help clear up the confusion concerning the transaction in lands in which Father Gibault's name appears, it is well to bear in mind that when Father Gibault came to the Illinois country he carried with him a very extensive power of attorney from the real owners of the Cahokia holdings, the seigneurs or officers of the Seminary of Quebec, putting him in control of the property.

It will help to an understanding of this involved question to bear in mind that Father Gibault was in no way connected with lands or property elsewhere. Bishop Carroll was hopelessly confused on these matters, and constantly mistakenly referred to Kaskaskia lands and the property of the Jesuits. Father Gibault never had anything to do with the Jesuit plantation or property at Kaskaskia: Jean Baptiste Beauvais bought the Jesuit property in 1763 under the villainous decree of the Council of New Orleans.

Father Gibault's power of attorney concerning the Cahokia property read as follows:

POWER OF ATTORNEY, SEMINARY TO GIBAUT

"Before the undersigned Notaries Royal, residing at Quebec.

Personally came and appeared the reverend Urbain Bonet, Priest Superior of the Quebec Seminary, Sebastien Columban Pressart, Proctor, Mathurin Jacean Henri Francois Grave and Francois Hubert, Directors of the said Seminary who did and do hereby declare, that being in the impossibility of sending a missionary from the said Seminary to attend the Spiritual wants of the Parishioners of the parish of the Holy Family of the Kaokias and being, however, desirous of doing everything to keep up the said mission and to put the said parish in possession of the property thereunto belonging which the Reverend Mr. Forget has sold without being authorized thereto. For that purpose, they have by these presents, made, nominated, established and constituted and do in fact nominate, establish and constitute for their General and special attorney, the reverend Pierre Gibault, Priest of the Diocese of Quebec sent by His Illustrious Excellency the Right Reverend Jean Oliver Briand, Bishop of Quebec, as missionary of the said Parish of the Holy Family of the Kaokias, to whom, in the name of the said Seminary, they give power to administer, govern and manage all the properties belonging to the said Mission, to acquaint himself with the said properties to get an account rendered of the said properties by all whom it may concern; to take all legal proceedings if necessary jointly with the deputies or representatives of the said mission to obtain the cancellations of all deeds of sale or alienations of all the immovable property belonging to the said mission, that might have been made by the hereinbefore named reverend Mr. Forget, without being authorized thereto without any right whatsoever and without even having a power of attorney from the said Quebec Seminary, to whom alone the ownership of the said property belongs as being a dependency of the said Seminary who has disbursed on the said property over forty thousand pounds for the settlement of the said mission and for the maintenance and expenses of the missionaries that have been sent there since the year sixteen hundred and ninety-eight, and who received by public documents from His Lordship de Saint Valier, bishop of Quebec, the care of the said mission.

The appearers give also full power to their said Constituted attorney to recover and receive from whom it may appertain the sums of money paid or that remain to be paid on the sale of the negroes and moveable effects belonging to the said mission, to cause an account to be rendered by whom it may appertain of the issues and revenues belonging to the said mission of which the parties so rendering an account might have enjoyed, to cause the same parties to render an account of all such goods they might have alienated or sold, to settle and audit the said accounts, to receive the balance still due thereon,

to give valid discharges and acquittances the said Constituents declaring that the landed property and sums of money growing out of the sale of the negroes and other moveable effects shall remain for the benefit of the said mission, and be employed by the Constituted Attorney as also by the inhabitants of the said Mission in the manner that they will judge the most advantageous and forever for the benefit and good of the said mission but under the authority nevertheless and with the consent of His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec who has signed these presents; the appearers willing that the landed property belonging to the said mission and still there be not sold nor alienated by whomsoever, but that the issues and revenues only be collected for the maintenance of the said mission without delapidating any part thereof, and whereas the reverend Gentlemen of the Seminary do not intend receiving any profit from the sums of money collected on the landed property or the moveables of the said mission, but that on the contrary that they desire that the said sums of money be made use of for the restoration of the said mission, the maintenance of the missionaries who will be sent there and in the surrounding country either by His Lordship the Bishop or by the reverend Gentlemen of the Seminary, they therefore declare that they do not bind themselves to make any advance of money for the maintenance of the mission, or for law costs or otherwise. And in the event of any difficulties arising in and about the affairs of the said mission, they give to the said Mr. Gibault and the said Parishioners power to take out all suits before all courts of justice, to oppose, to elect domicile, to procure all judgments, to put the same to execution by all legal and reasonable means, to appoint arbitrators to appeal from or submit to their judgment, to name attorneys, to revoke them or substitute others in their places, to pay all costs and make all disbursements in the name of the said parish of the Holy Family, and Generally to make for the good and benefit of the said mission all and every the things the constituents might or could do if they were personally present, promising to ratify everything, wishing and willing that the present Power of Attorney be not revoked by lapse of time and that it remain valid until it be expressly revoked and this on account of the great distances, obliging, etc., renouncing, etc.

Done and passed at Quebec at the Seminary in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-eight the fourteenth day of May in the forenoon, and His Excellency and the said Constituents have signed after due reading thereof, thus signed on the original recorded in the office of Mr. Panet, the undersigned Notary, 'J. Ol. Eveque de Quebec,' 'Bonet Priest' 'Superior,' 'Jaeran Ptre,' 'Pressart Ptre,' 'Grave Ptre,' 'Hubert Ptre,' 'Sanguinet Notary and we undersigned notary.'

True copy conform to the original found in the minutes of the late Mr. J. C. Panet, Notary for that part of Canada heretofore called Lower Canada, deposited among the Archives of this District, Compared and collated by us the undersigned keepers of the same and Prothanotaries of the Superior Court of Lower Canada at Quebec this fourteenth day of September eighteen hundred and fifty seven.

(Signed) 'BURROUGHS, S. Fiset,' P. S. C.

There is nothing to indicate that Father Gibault acted under this power of attorney until ten years had passed by. At the end of ten years an occasion arose where his power was exercised. One Dame Marie Barbe Harlin, a widow, perhaps in the possession of some of the Seminary property, granted a parcel to a Mr. Poirier and his wife by a writing as follows:

“Before the Notary Public of Caokias and and the witnesses hereinafter named, were present Dame Marie Barbe Harlin, widow of the late Pierre Dumary (?) which said Dame has acknowledged and confessed to have sold, assigned, transferred and made over with promise of warranty from all troubles, debts, mortgages, evictions, alienations, gifts, dowers and other incumbrances generally whatever to Mr. Poirier and to Dame Joseph Kelle his wife hereunto present and accepting, all the buildings erected on the town lot conceded to them by Mr. Chez the Commandant without producing any titles to the property to obtain which titles the said Mr. Poirier shall make all his efforts with the reverend Mr. Gibault, missionary and Vicar General to obtain a title of concession, the said buildings being thus sold for the price and sum of sixty pounds currency in furs payable in the course of the month of May of the next year this sum being for the said buildings only. Executed at Caokias the eighteenth day of August eighteen hundred and seventy seven, in the presence of Mr. Jean Baptiste Mercier, witness who has signed with the said Vendor, and the said Notary on the original of these presents; the said purchaser has made his Cross in the presence of the said Notary after due reading hereof according to the requirements of the ordinance.

(Signed) ‘J. Bte. SENET, Notary Public.

Collated and examined by the undersigned Notaries Public at Quebec on a certified copy handed to them and immediately returned. Done at Quebec the sixteenth day of August eighteen hundred and eighty-four.

(Signed) BERTHELOT DARTINGY,

(Signed) A. PANET.”

This paper was submitted to Father Gibault, and he was requested to approve the same. Accordingly, Father Gibault executed the following document:

“I the undersigned Priest Vicar General of His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec fiscal proctor of the Seigneurs of Kaokias, do hereby certify to have conceded and do hereby concede a town lot of one hundred and fifty feet in front by one hundred and fifty feet in width bounded on one side by the street, on the two others by the Domaine on the fourth side by Jacques Lagrange to Joseph Poirier, to have and to hold the same in full property but however subject to acknowledgement, in testimony whereof I have signed at Kaokias this fifteenth May 1778.

(Signed) P. GIBAULT, Ptre. V. G. F. P.”

This document was forwarded to Quebec for the approval of the officers of the Seminary, whereupon these officers took action as indicated in the following document:

"We Directors Superior and Proctor of the Quebec Seminary, do hereby ratify and confirm inasmuch as the same may be required, the concession hereinabove made by Mr. Gibault subject to the Condition that the possessor shall pay to the original owners of the soil or their representatives by way of acknowledgement, the ground rent that shall be determined by the authorities of the place. Quebec 16th August 1784.

(Signed) BEDARD, Pst. of the Seminary,
GRAVE, "Proctor."

Thus was established the precedent for the sale of the Cahokia property belonging to the Seminary by Father Gibault. We now come to another land transaction, in which Father Gibault sells some of the same property to no less a personage than Colonel George Rogers Clark:

SALE OF LAND BY FATHER GIBAULT, MAY 7, 1779.

(K. MMS. Court Record, f. 172)

I, the undersigned, priest, vicar general of Monseigneur the Bishop of Quebec, in the country of the Illinois, and (word illegible) Procureur fiscal of the Foreign Missions of the Holy Family of Cahokia, certify that I have ceded and do cede a plot of land of ten arpents frontage, beginning at the first limit half an arpent above the source of the spring which issues from the rock, commonly called the mill of M. L'Abbe, and descending to the row of willows towards the Mississippi, the remainder lying in the commons and extending back from the line of the great bluffs to twenty-one arpents in depth, to enjoy in full and perpetual propriety the said land above described, to M. Stephen Trigg, his heirs and assigns without trouble or prejudice, on condition, however, that the said M. Stephen Trigg, his heirs and assigns, shall pay the dues, both ecclesiastical and civil, common to all the other citizens, as well as the seignioral dues which may be established hereafter by the republic. The present is given as a title of concession. Signed by our hand at Cahokia this twenty-first of April, in the year of grace of Jesus Christ, 1779.

(Signed) P. GIBAULT,
Missionary Priest, Vicar General.

(Illinois Historical Collection, V. S. (Kaskaskia Records), pp. 77, 78.)

This concession was made by Father Gibault to Stephen Trigg, one of Clark's officers, on April 21, 1779, and transferred by the latter to Clark on May 6, of the same year. Both deeds were registered at Kaskaskia instead of Cahokia. (Kas. Rec., Court Record.)

One Col. Dorsey Pentecoste seems to have obtained an assignment of Clark's claim and attempted to press it, but eventually the United States disallowed Pentecoste's claim on the ground that Father Gibault had no authority to alienate the lands of the Church and was expressly prohibited from doing so. (Am. State Papers, Pub. Lands, p. 139.)

With respect to this grant the inhabitants of Cahokia memorialized Congress as follows:

M. Gibault, *cure*, serving the parish of Kaskaskia 20 leagues from our village, has dared to arrogate secretly the power of disposing of this prairie by conceding it to Colonel Clark, who has resold this same concession to M. Pentecoste, who today wishes to take possession and dispossess the inhabitants thereof.

It has never been in the power of any ecclesiastic of the Illinois to dispose of the property of the subjects. Neither the laws nor their state have ever given them a power so arbitrary. So far from having had therein any authority or right, their duty has been limited to saying the Mass and to receiving the remuneration which accrues to them for celebrating divine service; and never have the priests had the permission or the privilege of giving concessions. This privilege has formerly belonged to the commandants and the commissaries of the places, when they were authorized thereto by the sovereign; and never has any priest interfered or dared to assume such an authority.

M. Gibault, knowing that he had no right nor authority to make the concession, but in order to make a merit and to deceive the good faith of M. Clark, has made this concession fraudulently and against the public good faith. Also he has kept silent about it (and it didn't come to the knowledge of the inhabitants until this day) on account of the fear, which he undoubtedly had, that they would disgrace and confuse him with having deceived M. Clark; and at the same time, he wished, if it had been in his power, to dispossess the said inhabitants of their property by a concession as vain as underhanded, which he had given secretly to M. Clark, because he wished to persuade him of his false power.

What would become of the citizens of this part if trickeries, so manifest and so scandalous, were allowed; and where would be the public surety of property? There would no longer be any; and no proprietor could be assured of being undisturbed in his own home. This liberty, so dear, would be only its shadow.

It is to anticipate so evil a purpose and to stop the course of the attempts which M. Pentecoste wishes to make on our property, which attempts rest on such a vain title, or to stop other concessions, burdensome and prejudicial to us, which he may undertake to obtain from our lords of Congress, that we take the liberty, our Lords and Sovereigns, of addressing your tribunal, in order to pray you to regard the concession, made by the said M. Gibault, as a manifest fraud and as given by a man not empowered in this matter and who has never had

power over our property; and to declare it null and improper and to dismiss M. Pentecoste to pleade against Colonel Clark and this latter against Gibault, who shall be held to show us his powers, by virtue of which he wishes to dispossess us of our property and lands, which we have possessed since the establishment of Cahokia, which is more than eighty years; possessions which his predecessors and even the former commandants have always respected.

We dare to hope, sirs, that you will set aside and annul all other concessions or permissions, which M. Pentecoste may obtain from you, which tend to dispossess us of our possessions, and consent that he cannot obtain a larger amount of land than that which the Court of this district will grant him in places which shall not be settled and up to the present have not been taken up by anyone, such concession not to exceed ten arpents in width and four hundred ad forty arpents in area; which amount of land shall be given to him, where it will not be prejudicial to anyone.

Enclosed herewith, our Lords, you will find the copy of the power of attorney which the chapter of Canada sent to M. Gibault, the original of which is deposited at the office of the district of Cahokia, from which power of attorney you will see that M. Gibault neither could nor should dismember or concede any part or portion of the lands and property of the mission of Cahokia without the express consent of the inhabitants of the said place, to whom all this property is conveyed for the maintenance of the said mission or priest, that the said inhabitants shall wish to establish here; and that consequently M. Gibault, since he has never administered this cure, has had no right nor power. Besides we do not fear to advance that, at the time when he gave this pretended concession secretly and without the knowledge of the inhabitants, he was interdicted by order of the bishop of Canada, and we do not know if that interdiction is yet removed; but all interdictions annul all acts and contracts, which the one, so interdicted, may have made while it lasted; and consequently all his powers are annulled.

We ask again of you, our Lords, with all respect and submission that we owe to our sovereigns and with all the fidelity which we have sworn to you, that you grant us the justice, for which we pray, against all the attacks of M. Pentecoste upon our property, lands and commons, about which you cannot yourselves know, unless a person, informed and without partiality, makes to you a faithful report thereof. Therefore, we have intrusted M. Gabriel Cerre, merchant of the Illinois, and bearer of these presents, to give you all the necessary information so that you may render us the justice, which good and faithful subjects should expect from their sovereigns, for the preservation of our property which is on the verge of being a prey to the voracity of M. Pentecoste, who is eager to dispoil us of our patrimony and to compel us to make of ourselves and our families a sacrifice to tyranny by obliging us to seek an asylum among strangers after having spent our life-blood in making our lands valuable for his rapacity. We beseech you to pardon us if we make use of these expressions; but

the letter which he has written here proves sufficiently his intentions, a copy of which we send joined herewith.

We pray you, our Lords, that we be maintained in all our possessions, usages, former customs and laws so that no authority can do violence to any other court of the Illinois, since we know the incapacity, spite and partiality of the subjects who might exercise it; but we pray you to grant us the permission to govern ourselves as we have always done. (Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Alvord, p. 581, et. seq.)

This complaint emanating from the residents of Cahokia plainly has very little foundation in merit, at least insofar as it attributes any ulterior motive to Father Gibault. When the Cahokians say that Father Gibault had no power to sell the Church lands, they put a strict construction upon the power of attorney from the officers of the Seminary of Quebec. This document conferred very broad powers upon Father Gibault and, as we have already seen, he had prior to this transfer exercised a power of sale and his exercise thereof was approved by the officers of the Seminary.

No doubt the Seminary was entirely willing to sell at least such of the property as was not needed for church purposes. At any rate they ratified Father Gibault's first sale. Moreover, in the state of public feeling just at the time that Father Gibault made this sale, concerning which the residents of Cahokia complained so bitterly, anybody might have been expected to be willing to accommodate the savior and deliverer, George Rogers Clark, to whom the property was sold. Apparently Clark liked the little village of Cahokia and desired to own some property there. Father Gibault no doubt was approached with reference to a purchase, and believing, no doubt, that he had power to sell was doubly glad to make a sale to Colonel Clark. Whether application was made to the officers of the Seminary at Quebec to approve the sale we do not know, but it does appear that Clark assigned his contract or deed of conveyance to Col. Dorsey Pentecoste, who later came to Cahokia and attempted to reduce the property to possession but failed.

In the meantime the war of the revolution having ended and the territory having come into the possession of the United States, a committee of Congress takes up the question of land grants and disallows the Clark-Pentecoste claim.

Now how far, or in what respect is Father Gibault blameworthy in connection with this transaction? It is plain that he had extensive power to deal with the land. True the officers of the Seminary of Quebec might have refused to approve the sale. There appears noth-

ing to indicate that they did disapprove. There is not the slightest reason for supposing that Father Gibault ever received a farthing in connection with the transaction; and, finally, the transaction resulted in no harm to the residents of Cahokia or to any one else who had a legal claim on the property, since the grant was disallowed by Congress, and neither the purchaser nor his assigns received the property.

In all fairness we must absolve Father Gibault from fault in connection with this transaction.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

THE CURIOUS LEGEND OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN KENTUCKY*

INTRODUCTION

This study of the historic facts regarding a visit by Louis Philippe of France (then Duc d'Orleans) to Kentucky in 1797 was made by Mr. Allison after many years of reading and traditionary contact with the legends that developed from that casual visit. Similar legends grew up at New Orleans, Vincennes, and other points in America where Louis Philippe stopped briefly. For various reasons Mr. Allison hesitated to disturb the story, but studies in the beginnings of monasticism in Kentucky convinced him that the labors of early Catholic missionaries, their sacrifices and devotion, had been the pedestal that the ivy of a King's name had overgrown and obscured. Popular legends, Mr. Allison concluded, were indestructible to the general public who love the glamor of personality and costume, but he did have the feeling that for those who seek the facts of history the truth should be registered. Hence the main paper. When it was written the Filson Club invited him to read it before that venerable historical society in November, 1923.

Publication of summaries in the press at once started controversy and a re-opening of forgotten chapters in early Catholic and general pioneer history in Kentucky. Under the circumstances the formal printing of the study was delayed until the results of fresh research and criticism were available. The post-script to the original paper is therefore added to consider the criticisms. Both are presented as studies in history and the psychology of legendary stories.

Everyone with an appreciation of sound scholarship and literary grace will, I am sure, welcome this addition to the notable series of poetic, fictional and historical productions comprising Allisonana.

C. I. HITCHCOCK.

Louisville, Kentucky,
December 6, 1924.

A most interesting fable, almost affiliated with history in Kentucky, is the curious legend of Louis Philippe, "King of the French." It is to the effect that sometime between 1797 and 1830, while still Duke of Orleans, that personage lived for several years in humble exile at Bardstown, supporting himself by teaching French, dancing and deportment; that he played the fiddle for his dancing pupils, the royal fingers twiddling skillfully to the rhythms of minuet and sara-band. The explanation given is that he was there under the fatherly care of Bishop Flaget, first bishop of the Catholic diocese of Bardstown. After the prince was chosen constitutional King in France in 1830 the fable expands and has it that he sent handsome presents to

*This paper was originally read before the Filson Club, Louisville, November 5, 1923. It is here published by permission of the Filson Club, the author and owner of the copyright.

the Bishop's cathedral of old St. Joseph, as marks of royal gratitude and affection.

It has grown to be a tempting story, the beginning of which is like the invariable "Once upon a time there was a handsome but unfortunate young Prince" of other fairy tales. For the young Duke of Orleans was handsome, was unfortunate in his birth, in his bringing up and his early experiences. He had remarkable adventures and a career of surprising extremes of romantic good and bad fortune. But the chapter concerning Kentucky is a pure construction of legendry—a castle of fancy such as Balzac says a poet can, with imagination, build upon the point of a needle. It is all founded upon Louis Philippe's passage without stop or stay through Kentucky in April, 1797, and his casual meeting in Havana, Cuba, in the summer of 1799 with a young priest who became afterwards the first Bishop of Bardstown.

A pendant or accompaniment of the legend exists also at Owingsville in Bath County, where it is firmly imbedded in local traditions. There, they say, the prince spent eleven months in 1814-15 as the guest of Col. Thomas Deye Owings, the early iron-master of Eastern Kentucky. As evidenced by undeniable historical records, Louis Phillippe "resided" at Bardstown for the space of not less than thirty-six nor more than sixty hours during April, 1797. It is not probable that he even passed through Owingsville. That short and uncertain pause at Bardstown has thus, in the fables served to cover a "residence" of from three to five years in Kentucky.

The records of Louis Philippe's early and only visits to Kentucky have been brought together by Jane Marsh Parker in an article in the *Century Magazine* for September, 1901, entitled "Louis Philippe in the United States." She cites her authorities in history, memoir and newspaper files. Better than all, she obtained from a member of the Orleans family, having custody of Louis Philippe's private papers, the entries in his diary concerning his stay in the United States from his arrival at Philadelphia in October, 1796, until he reached Bardstown, April 20-21, 1797. The prince filled two other books with entries covering his American stay. These have been lost, or at least mislaid, possibly by mistake sealed up with political papers awaiting release for historical use in the future. At any rate we have his own record of part of his itinerary in Kentucky.

April 15, 1797, he crossed the Tennessee line, coming from Nashville to Louisville. He was accompanied by his younger brothers, the Count de Montpensier, aged 22, and the Count de Beaujolais, aged 19, and a trusted servant named Baudoin. Louis Philippe was then

in his 24th year. He traveled incognito as "Mr. D'Orleans," his brothers as MM. de Montpensier and de Beaujolais. On the night of the 15th they stopped at Captain Chapman's in "the Barrens." Next night with a ferryman on Green River. Thence to a Pennsylvania "Dutch" farmer's, named Racker. The fourth night they lodged at Mr. Hodgkins'. This sounds suspiciously like Hodgins, or Hodgens, from which came Hodgenville, near the site of the Lincoln Memorial. Abraham Lincoln spelled it "Hoggins," so that "Mr. D'Orleans' " spelling of the same name, if faulty, may be excused.

Late the next afternoon, April 20, 1797, they arrived at Bardstown and put up at Captain Bean's tavern. The town then consisted of about 150 houses, for the most part of logs. Here "Mr. D'Orleans" was "taken seriously ill." A "show" (probably of performing bears, popular then) was to be given that night and Mrs. Bean, the landlady, deeply offended the sufferer by going to the show and leaving him to the tender mercies of his servant Baudoin. It was only a stomach ache, from which he recovered rapidly next day. On the second morning after his arrival he mounted his horse and rode away. Mrs. Parker upon this entry permits herself to offer this statement and suggestion: "Louis Philippe, when King of the French, sent a clock to the Roman Catholic Church at Bardstown, which suggests that he had some pleasant reminiscences of the place—kindly attention from the good pere, no doubt." We shall see that he sent no clock to the Cathedral. When he was in Bardstown there was no 'good pere' in that village. The nearest chapel was St. Thomas in the woods, several miles away, and the next was Holy Cross, still farther away. Besides, "Mr. D'Orleans" and his father, the notorious Philip Egalite, as republicans, had been busy suppressing religion in France and cared little for priests. Mrs. Parker's note merely shows how some sort of history can be made by hearsay and suggestion.

From Bardstown the party pushed on to Louisville, Frankfort, Lexington and Maysville, where, the last of April, they crossed to Ohio and went North and East. Mrs. Parker found no entries after Bardstown and no mention in Kentucky newspapers of the royal visitors. The old "Kentucky Gazette" of that year has twice been carefully examined for the purpose of this article and no record of the visits found. Owingsville was probably off the route.

It appears, then, that Louis Philippe was in Kentucky about fifteen days in April, 1797. He never set foot here again, except, perhaps in passing down the Ohio to New Orleans eight months later in a flatboat. After January, 1800, he never again set foot on

United States soil. Every week of his time in America is accounted for.

From New Orleans in March, 1798, he and his party sailed to Havana, where as "sons of the Regicide Egalite," they found themselves at once in hot water and the spotlight of politics. The Spanish Government ordered them to leave. They made their way with difficulty to Halifax, N. S. There they fell into fresh political complications with England, which made their movements history. Finally, in February, 1800, they were permitted to land in England where their mother provided Orleans House at Twickenham for their residence. George III allowed them a liberal pension. Their mother was rich, though temporarily embarrassed for funds, and Louis Philippe was heir to his father's immense fortune. It was in sequestration, but it was an asset of great promise. There was, therefore, no reason of pecuniary pressure why he should disappear to earn his living laboriously and humbly at Bardstown or at Owingsville.

Under the circumstances his disappearance at any time up to June, 1815, when Waterloo was fought, would have created as much excitement in Europe as the mysterious disappearance of the son of John D. Rockefeller or of Henry Ford would now create in the United States. Even more—for Louis Philippe was not only potentially the richest man in Europe (his father's private fortune being estimated at 135,000,000 francs), but he was also of royal blood and a political factor of importance. There was no time after February, 1800, when he was beyond the searching vision of society and politics. In 1809 he married Marie Amelie, daughter of Ferdinand II of Naples. In 1814, when Napoleon was sent to Elba, the duke returned to Paris from England. Louis XVIII restored to him his father's fortune but kept him under surveillance as a dangerous political suspect. After Waterloo he remained in France until he fled to England from the Revolution of 1848, after reigning eighteen years. He died there at Claremont in 1850, aged 77 years.

Those with good knowledge of history who have believed in the "residence" without investigation, usually put forward at this point the fact that Louis Philippe did actually disappear from public view for about four years, and argue therefrom that he was then possibly in hiding at Bardstown. Those four years are, however, fully accounted for. They cover the period from 1793 to 1797. Suspected of conspiring with his commanding general, Dumouriez, to seize the French throne from the Republican Directory,

the two were forced to flee for their lives. For four years the prince wandered incognito from Switzerland through Northern Europe to escape detection. That period ended when he came to America in 1796 and ceased troubling.

Owing to the absence of a definite date when he "is said" to have lived at Bardstown for several years, it is somewhat difficult to fix a firm grasp upon that section of the legend. In Owingsville they fix the Bardstown date variously at 1812 and 1821. But in those years, he, the richest man in Europe, was living in England or in Paris with his wife and family, never ceasing from his desire for the French throne, which at last he gained.

Mr. E. Baker Smith of Bardstown, architect and builder, died in 1920 in his ninety-second year. He was of unblemished character, with a clear, accurate and retentive memory. A staunch Catholic, he had much to do with constructing many of the church properties in the vicinity. He it was who twice lowered the bell from the Cathedral tower when it was to be recast and both times replaced it. He told me in his last year that his father, who had come to Bardstown in 1812, had said that he had never been able to find anybody among the oldest persons in Bardstown who claimed actually to have seen Louis Philippe. His father had talked with persons who had heard of other persons who were said to have studied French or deportment or dancing under him, but the hearsay report was always one or two removes distant. He was said, vaguely, to have lived for a time with Bishop Flaget in a "white house over on the hill," a little distant from St. Joseph's Church. Bishop Flaget was consecrated Bishop of Bardstown in 1810, less than a year after Louis Philippe had married the daughter of the King of Naples. The Bishop left no record in writing or spoken word that the prince had ever lived at Bardstown under his care, nor does any record of it appear in any of the Catholic or other historical archives. This, if the story were true, would be all the more singular, because the good Bishop had met the Duke in Havana in 1793, had rendered him tactful service in an acute emergency, and would not be at all likely to ignore him in his diary.

Still, we are not to assume that the fable was made out of whole cloth. With all its vagueness it has yet some points suggesting definiteness. Why, for instance, should the prince be described as "teaching school," even though his curriculum consisted of "French, deportment and dancing?" He had taught school elsewhere and was highly educated. When scarcely twenty-one, a fugi-

tive from those his father had betrayed, and, himself was suspected of betraying, he, friendless and unknown, had under the alias of "M. Chabaud-Latour" passed the necessary examinations and received the appointment of professor of mathematics, French, geography and history at the College of Reichenau in Switzerland. Yet we are expected to believe that this scholarly and capable prince taught at Bardstown, French, dancing and deportment—three accomplishments which those hardy early settlers would certainly need less than all others—when he might have been teaching the important and useful branches of mathematics, geography and history. Yet it is to be noted that he was "teaching," which would at least be in character. Let us examine this closely.

When the prince spent a day or two in Bardstown in 1797 it is extremely doubtful if anybody there knew his real identity. The only comment he and his brothers excited in Kentucky was natural surprise (duly recorded in his diary) that three able-bodied young men, with an elderly servant to attend to their wants, should be riding idly through the wilderness, just sightseeing. Why didn't they take up rich land somewhere and work it? But, thirty-three years later, when the same prince was King of the French and his identity with the Bardstown traveler was established, it was quite another thing. His Government clashed with President Andrew Jackson over the payment of our French spoliation claims, and every incident of his personal history became interesting to Americans. Moreover the King was fond of talking to Americans received at Versailles about his journey through their country. De Tocquerville remarks upon his tenacious memory of that journey, even to the characteristics of towns, the full Christian names and ages of representative persons he had met, and the opinions they had expressed. He was the most adroit politician of his period and possessed the politician's first great asset of good memory.

Thus it came out at last that he had traversed Kentucky, that he had visited Bardstown. Meanwhile a whole generation had passed at Bardstown. Men who had been forty and fifty had reached seventy-five and eighty-five. We all know what happens to the memories of those grown old, untrained in and unaccustomed to accuracy. When it comes to competition between such memories the product is often a flower that refuses to blush unseen, and multiplies itself like a weed of the field. We may well imagine something like this conversation among the older inhabitants:

"Yes, I remember that fellow; stopped at Capt. Bean's; they had

curious French names and he taught me how to pronounce them in French. Now that fellow is a King—well! well!”

“And don’t you remember,” says another, “that he took Capt. Bean’s fiddle and played it and some of us got to dancing and he showed us how they danced in France.”

“Sure he did,” chimes in a third, “and showed us, too, how they bowed to the ladies and led them back to their chairs after dancing.”

To such extent it is probable that Louis Philippe taught “French, dancing and deportment” one day in Bardstown. Any youthful traveler might have spent an idle day in just such manner. Time and the rivalry of memories among those not liking to be omitted from the “great events of history” did the rest. The one or two days’ stay easily grew to be years. He had to have a place to live—he was a friend of the good Bishop—very well, he lived with the Bishop. The Bishop had received many fine things from Europe for the Cathedral—who but the King could have sent them? Many legends of far more importance than this have been built upon foundations quite as frail.

Curiosity enough, there were other picturesque figures of those early Bardstown days of 1797-1830 to contribute colors of life to the fairy story of the good Bishop, the exiled Prince and the grateful King. There were two persons in the vicinity suggesting actual mystery and romance, giving rise to a belief in the residence of a prince in the near neighborhood. One was a priest without charge—the earliest school-teacher—Father William de Rohan, who came from the Sorbonne in Paris, drifted to Nelson County through the wilderness, and built of logs at Holy Cross the first Catholic Church in Kentucky. He possessed only partial religious faculties; he was given to drink—too prevalent among men at that time; he taught the first school in the settlement and lived there in poverty, and gentle toleration of his weaknesses and with the love of his pupils, from 1792 until he died about 1832, a forgotten, desolate old man.

Who Father de Rohan was, nobody even now exactly knows. The Catholic Church, beginning with Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, treated him with patient consideration and with firmness, but did not seek to fix particularly the identity of this priest of its first Kentucky church. Historians content themselves with a line saying, “he was said to be of Irish parentage, born in France.” He came to America about the time when that Cardinal Prince Louis Rene Edouard de Rohan, a royal libertine of the church in France, was the central figure in the throne-shaking scandal of Marie Antoinette, Madame de la Motte-Valois, and the famous Diamond Necklace. That prince was

connected with the Sorbonne, was afterward its President, and was one of the familiars of the notorious Count Cagliostro. William de Rohan might have been of that family—but the veil over the mystery of this reputed Irishman with the French name and birth has never been lifted. Even the place of his grave is unknown. Yet somebody must have scented a secret in the very ambiguity that enveloped him then, as it does now. Some gossip of his name and lineage must have circulated then, as it does still. For if he were of that family, rich in the cardinalcy, he was of royal blood—a prince. In those days, when emigres from the unleashed peasant power in France were hiding from sight everywhere, any supposed connection with that royal house, however remote, might properly account for the silence, the consideration, the care. His own nature accounted for his general popularity. He was gay, yet learned; devoted, yet weak; mercurial, yet industrious; living in his log hut alone, cultivating his garden, teaching the youth with loving care and yielding to his failings with the way of a child. It is the picture of a man to be loved, however much his vices be deplored.

The other man about whom clung mystery was also French, and he came to Nelson County in 1805—Father Maria Joseph Dunand, who joined the first colony of Trappist monks there and became their prior. He had been a sergeant in Napoleon's impressed army in France, but was a devout Catholic. Ordered one day to take a resisting priest out and shoot him, the sergeant released the captive and bade him flee. Himself, making his way into hiding, escaped, and became a Trappist. He remained near Bardstown with his fellow Trappists until they went to Missouri about 1810. He became a famous missionary and established the frontier church of Florissant, now St. Charles, Missouri. He was fearless, devout; the story of his life reads almost like that of another St. Paul for dangers and hardships encountered and endured. He was a marked figure in Bardstown vicinity—the tall, soldier-like, red-bearded monk, who did his work in the field and forest in silence and carried on practical business with few words. Wherever he went the influence of his personality left the sign that a Man had passed by.

These two were as picturesque in their ways as the young prince known as Mr. D'Orleans had been in his. If you will consider the proper French pronunciation of those three names—D'Orleans, de Rohan, Dunand—and consider how they would sound and mingle in the ear of the average unlettered American or English settler, you will perceive that they might easily become interchangeable, fused into one confusion. To two of them attached a mystery of royalty, to

the other a vague Napoleonic connection. A friend, in advocacy of the truth of the legend, reports that he read in some forgotten book a letter from a lady who passed through Nelson County in 1804-5, who spoke of having seen one whom she vaguely describe as the "French prince" at work with a hoe in his field. Yet it was certainly not the Duke of Orleans, who was then living in England. Was it the whispered "Prince" in his garden, or the mysterious Napoleonic Trappist in the garden of the log monastery? Was it the name of de Rohan or Dunand that she heard? Who can say?

There remains a final election of theory for the origin of this myth. Was there an impostor who stayed in Bardstown for some time representing himself as the Duke of Orleans? It seems wholly improbable. If such an imposture had been practiced it would seem that it must have left more marks of definiteness. It would have been remembered when and why the impostor came, when he left, where he lived. He must have had contacts in the small population which would have left his name upon some old records or impressed his personality distinctly upon memories. On the other hand, if there was an impostor, and he stayed only a short time, that much might even have given basis for the fabled three years. In New Orleans, where the prince stayed but five weeks, the various houses in which he was entertained, or said to have been entertained, for longer or shorter time, were years afterward sold to advantage upon such representation. On that basis a New Orleans historian has estimated that Louis Philippe must have spent four years there in the space of five weeks! Legends spread like wildfire. Finally, if there was an impostor at Bardstown it must have been before Bishop Flaget arrived in 1810. Because he knew the prince.

It is fair to think that there was an impostor at Owingsville in 1814. The story there is categorical, in spite of anachronisms and additions that have crept into it. Col. Thomas Deye Owings, it is told, met one who called himself Duke of Orleans in Baltimore; they became intimate friends at once and the "prince" was invited to come West with Colonel Owings and pay a long visit. Then begins a remarkably confused story. This "prince," invited as a guest, instead of being installed in the finest residence of the village—built and occupied by his host—goes by preference to live with Colonel Owings' coal miners and iron workers in their filthy cabins and workshops, sleeps with them in their "coal baskets," engages in their rough wrestling matches, hunts, and other frontier sports—a rude workman among workmen for several months. Then as suddenly he transfers himself to the luxurious "suite" in the Owings residence,

where he becomes the curled darling of courts, exhibits the manners of a prince of the Old Regime, recalling "the grandeur that was Greece" and the purples that were Paris. Cinderella becomes permanently enchanted in glory. Then dramatically arrives an appeal from France, suffering under the rule of its legitimate King of the Restoration, Louis XVIII. Our "prince" tears himself away from Owingsville, leaving upon the exact date of June 17, 1815. Waterloo, it will be remembered, was to be concluded the next day, when Cambronne made his last stand for the Corsican usurper. But the "prince" did not know that. The very innocency of the date may be taken to support the theory of an actual impostor, because even though Napoleon had "broken out" of Elba in the preceding February, the news in those days scarcely could have traveled to Owingsville by June. A veritable prince in that wilderness might well have believed Napoleon still under lock and key, and that a legitimate king was again handing France over to the dogs—as so many before him had done.

If you do not believe all this they can show you proofs at Owingsville in the very openings in the hills where the coal and iron ore were mined; the old Owings home, where Versailles had its brief reincarnation; a copy (not the original) of his letter of farewell to Mrs. Owings, and no traces of the parting book he is said to have sent her with the letter. As a matter of fact Louis Philippe was in Paris from early in 1814 until April, 1815, moving heaven and earth to have his patrimony restored, as subsequently it was. He, with the rest of the Bourbon and Orleans families had to decamp before Napoleon's sortie from Elba in the spring of 1815, and he fled back to England to return to Paris after Waterloo. Yet there are almost indubitable inherent signs of an impostor who spent eleven months in Owingsville, imposing upon Colonel Owings and his fellow-townsmen. This Louis Philippe at Owingsville is a sturdier and yet an even more unconvincing figure than that one who seems to peep out of the haze at Bardstown.

It only remains to say of these legends of residence that no authentic history of Kentucky, no known memoir, preserved letter, or journal of the times, make any mention of them, while the detailed story of Louis Philippe's life proves them to have been impossible. Any attempt to fixe a date for either fable insures its instant destruction.

The entire legend is in fact dissipated so readily by the old, simple process of applying to it the acid test of chronology and recorded history that you will think it surprising the exposure was not long

ago made. It may be that the fables seemed to superficial writers so much more interesting than the facts that they yielded to the temptation to adopt the fiction. Or, that serious historians were too busy with more important actual affairs to waste time upon it. It has been casually repudiated often, but without offered proof. So it has prospered and strengthened. The dedication of Federal Hill near Bardstown as "My Old Kentucky Home," on July 4, 1923, had the effect of bringing forth a fresh flood of imaginary details. Pictures were published of articles of royal gift from Louis Philippe to the old Cathedral of St. Joseph at Bardstown, and to private persons he never saw or heard of. The latter it is useless to discuss. The splendid gifts he is said to have bestowed upon the Cathedral deserve attention. These may be catalogued as follows:

1. The bell, now in the tower, placed there in 1821. Many years ago it cracked and was recast in Louisville from the same metal, but the recasting proved a failure and it was again removed from the tower and recast successfully elsewhere. When first recast an inscription (not there originally) was carried upon it to the effect that it was the gift of Louis Philippe. Those responsible for the inscription were wholly sincere.

2. A remarkable mechanical clock which was first placed in the facade of the church and rang the hours upon two exquisitely toned bells. It was repaired seventy-five years ago by a historical Trappist lay brother, Felix Cachot.

3. A collection of very beautiful and carefully preserved oil paintings and altar pieces in the church, which attract the admiration and curiosity of all visitors possessing some knowledge of art. Several of the original number were long ago transferred to the Louisville Cathedral of the Assumption.

4. Some very fine and costly vestments for use on grand occasions in the church. One of these is said to have been embroidered for Bishop Flaget by Louis Philippe's queen and her ladies, and to have contained originally the royal monogram in gold thread. The monogram, it is now said, was ordered picked out by the old bishop with the remark that this was a democratic country and the marks of royalty would be out of place upon vestments in its churches.

These are the outstanding gifts credited to Louis Philippe, the flowery yarn of whose beneficences has flowed through countless columns of newspapers in recent years. If it can be proved that he did not give them to the Cathedral, but that on the other hand the origin otherwise of every one of them is historically known and long ago recorded, the whole myth falls.

Beginning with the great bell in the tower the story is quite simple. The two first great sacrificing missionary priests in Kentucky were Steven Theodore Badin, of Orleans, France, who came here in 1791 at the age of 23, and Charles Nerinckx, of Flanders, who arrived in 1804 at the age of 43. These two literally almost alone "held the fort" for Catholicism in the wilderness until Bishop Flaget arrived in 1810. They built all the early churches, of logs, or lumber, or brick. Exposed to wild animals, the elements, often to starvation, these two indomitable and fearless men traveled the State on horseback, or afoot, organizing and serving Catholics, with the sacraments of the church. All that time Father Nerinckx had the vision of a Diocese of Bardstown and a Cathedral Church there. Being under the ban of the Government of Belgium as a revolutionary, he dared not return to his native land, but to his family and friends there he was perpetually writing letters asking for altar and church articles and many were sent to him. In 1815, when Napoleon's power was overthrown, Bishop Flaget sent Father Nerinckx to Belgium to seek aid for the diocese and the cathedral then building. Bishop Maes of Detroit, who in 1880 wrote a life of Father Nerinckx from his journals, letters and papers, says of the year 1818: "The cathedral church (at Bardstown) was also presented with the beautiful bell of the abbey of Ninove, cast by Mr. Sacre of Alost and bought in Ninove by Father Nerinckx."

At that time the churches in Belgium were under interdict, many had been wrecked and sacked, and their relics were cheaply purchasable. This bell of Ninove was not, however, the bell that went into the cathedral tower; or if it did go there, it remained but a year or two, as we shall see.

Between 1820-23 both Father Badin and Father G. A. Chabrat (the latter afterwards Bishop Coadjutor of Bardstown) were in France on a visit home. They sought aid for the church. They corresponded. On February 7, 1821, Father Badin wrote to Father Chabrat from Paris:

"I advise you to take the bell promised by your friend at Lyons [an offer of which Father Chabrat had evidently advised him], provided there should not be too great expenditure of cash, which is the thing most needed for the cathedral."

Later Father Badin received news of that bell, for he wrote to Father Chabrat under date Paris, September 5, 1823:

"It appears to me you have grown fond of noise since you bought the gros bourdon (the big bell) for the cathedral. Let me tell you that the sound of that bell is echoed even here in Paris where I

lately saw Mr. Rousand. He tells me you have paid dearly for it, on account of the carriage from Lyons to Bordeaux. I am mistaken in saying you have paid. It appears probable enough that it will fall to my lot to discharge that debt or a part of it. Well, it will be no hardship but a pleasure to me."

Bishop Spalding in his life of Bishop Flaget says of this very bell:

"M. Chabrat returned to Bardstown from Europe July 18, 1821, bringing with him the bell, weighing about 1,300 pounds, destined for the cathedral."

Now, to prove conclusively that this is the very bell which Father Chabrat bought in Lyons, Ben. J. Webb in his "History of Catholicity in Kentucky" adds this affectionate footnote to the first letter of Father Badin just quoted:

"The identical bell referred to has been swinging for sixty years in the tower of the former cathedral at Bardstown, sounding its admonition to prayer, knolling over the dead, and keeping count of the fleeting hours. Times numberless when a boy I climbed with tireless feet the long flights of stairs that led to its home in the tower, where, as it appeared to me, it kept watch and ward over the town beneath, and miles on miles of surrounding country. It is fifty years since I saw it last, but the shapely contour and, above all, its melodious sound are as present to my fancy today as they were then to my faculties of sight and hearing. Around its surface and preceding the date 'Lyons 1821' and the holy names 'Jesu . . . Maria' appears the sentence from Holy Writ: 'Audite verbum Domini, omnes gentes, et annuntiate in insulis quae procul sunt.' The impression has been general, as well among the clergy as the laity, that this bell was a gift to Bishop Flaget from Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, afterwards King of France, who desired thus to acknowledge his sense of obligation for courtesies extended to him by that prelate when he was an exile in the island of Cuba."

That footnote is of most peculiar value. Mr. Webb was born in Bardstown, came of an old Catholic family and was, during his whole life, deeply devoted to the church. It was in his father's house that mass for Bardstown Catholics was celebrated every Sunday before the cathedral was built. Mass was said in the parlor by Bishop Flaget and Fathers Nerineckx and Badin. Moreover, Mr. Webb was born in 1813, was 6 years old when the cathedral was consecrated and 8 when the bell was hung in the steeple. His memory in age turned back and clung tenaciously to the details of his boyhood days, as always it does with those who leave the little towns of their nativity. He was

educated at St. Joseph's College, was the leading Catholic publisher of the early West, and a conscientious, painstaking historian. His book, published in 1884, must have required years of preparation. His reference to the bell and sixty years of its personal identification was written about 1881. If another bell at any time had been substituted he would have known. Yet nowhere does he, or any other authoritative writer, use the name of Louis Philippe in connection with it, except in this instance, where he specifically but gently corrects the false impression of the King's beneficence, and shows that the bell came through Father Chabrat from Lyons.

The story of the mechanical clock is more briefly told. In the year 1821 Father Nerinecx, just back from Belgium, whither he had made a second trip, wrote a general letter of thanks to all his friends there who had aided him with contributions for his wilderness cathedral. Bishop Maes quotes from that letter in the biography of Father Nerinecx as follows:

"I might also have told you how they managed to build the steeple of the Bardstown Cathedral. The funds were exhausted, but the architect, who gave proof of the most ardent zeal for the completion of his work, bethought himself of a new plan to raise the necessary funds. The clock which I brought from Ninove in Flanders, and which is a truly wonderful timepiece, suggested to him the means of exciting the people to renewed exertions. He placed it in the front wall of the church, the two little silvertined bells striking the hours. The people acknowledged that so beautiful a clock should adorn a steeple and they consented to a subscription which realized enough to complete the work."

To this may be added the fact that Bishop Flaget in a letter to Bishop England of South Carolina in 1820 says of Father Nerinecx:

"He made two journeys to Europe and the valuables which he procured there exceeded the amount of \$15,000. This aid was principally drawn from religious Flanders."

Father Nerinecx did not go to France. He got contributions from England and Holland, and records them with gratitude; but there is no mention of Louis Philippe. There was in France no liberality toward the Western Church. Writing from Orleans, July 21, 1820, Father Badin says: "We have reason to believe that the Bishop of this place will encourage a collection for Kentucky; but he has observed to me again that this is an unpropitious season, because of the preceding collections and because the gentlemen and ladies of wealth and piety are now *a la campagne*." A month later he scores the niggardliness of the contributions thus: "I am much disgusted to

see much parade made in the newspapers of trivial donations or aims, which Americans would be ashamed to offer in similar circumstances."

All the paintings in the old Cathedral, including those later transferred to the Cathedral of the Assumption in Louisville, are to be credited directly to the loving prevision of Father Nerinecx. Bishop Maes writing about Father Nerinecx's first visit to Belgium, his old home, in 1817-17, says:

"About a hundred paintings which he had purchased had not reached Kentucky at the end of 1818. Among these were several valuable works of art, two of which he presented to the Cathedral of Bardstown; a Crucifixion and a scene of St. Bernard's life, a masterpiece which now hangs over the altar of St. Joseph in the Cathedral of Louisville, and which he is said to have purchased from among the wrecks of a church that had been recently sacked by the French. This painting represents St. Bernard with the Sacred Host in his hand giving a solemn reproof to William Aquitaine for his schismatical and licentious conduct. Both these valuable treasures were removed to Louisville on the transfer of the Episcopal See to that city in 1841."

The paragraph is a summary made from Father Nerinecx's journals and letters which the biographer had before him.

It is an error to include the "Crucifixion" as among the paintings transferred. It is still in the Bardstown collection. The pioneer priest had his Sisterhood of Loretto and the Cathedral as the apples of his eye. He gave them the best he had, the rest went to other churches he had built. His journal as early as 1808 noted the receipt of paintings, clocks, bells and other church property sent to him by friends in Belgium. He was an inspired beggar for the glory of God.

In 1821 Father Badin writing from Paris says:

"I have packed several trunks at Orleans where I bought forty tableaux d'autel, (altar pictures), an organ," etc. He was writing to Father Chabrat and both had sought Cathedral necessities and adornments in the impoverished provinces of France. Bishop Maes, as did the editor of Father Badin's papers and letters, passed over the minute details of these numerous paintings, but if the lists are still in existence there is little doubt that the origin of every one of the valuable paintings in the old Catholic churches of the State may be established by them. The article on Father Nerinecx in the Catholic Encyclopedia says: "He brought to America a number of paintings which are to this day the most valuable art treasures of the diocese of Louisville."

The record of the vestments is not, for obvious reasons, as definite and full as those of the bell, the clock and the paintings. Identity in such articles is difficult to establish. But Father Nerinckx was no less the almoner of these than of the others. Writing of his first visit to Belgium, before the Cathedral was consecrated, Bishop Maes says:

“The richest and most complete set of vestments, including five copes of the finest material, was bought from a collegiate church in Brussels at a very high figure. Father Nerinckx donated it to the Cathedral church at Bardstown, and Bishop Flaget used it for the first time at the Pontifical High Mass of Easter Sunday [this was 1818 and the cathedral was under way] in the chapel of St. Thomas’ Seminary.”

Father Nerinckx, Father Badin and Father Chabrat, all, sought fine vestments sacked from the churches in Belgium and France. Their letters teem with mentions of them, without particular description, but with adjectives indicating their beauty and costliness.

If Louis Philippe had contributed any containing his monogram in gold thread it is inconceivable that the good Bishop Flaget would have had the monogram deleted. The bishop was sympathetic, devoid of all demagoguery, and he would probably have decided, if called upon, that the monogram as a mark of the donor’s gratitude would shine beautifully in the sight of God. Besides, the cope itself would be as much the mark of royalty as the monogram. Bishop Flaget was no timid hypocrite. His whole life ranked him in noble humility, courage and true piety, high among the vicars of Christ in all the churches of Christendom.

Concluding now these records of the priceless relics this must be said: That the late Father C. J. O’Connell, who was forty years pastor of old St. Joseph’s Cathedral—from 1880 to 1920—came to it a young priest of twenty-six. He found there among his old parishioners men and women who firmly believed the fable of Louis Philippe. Father O’Connell had been educated at Louvain University, where he was thrown into intimate relations with and nursed through typhoid fever Father Damien, the famous missionary to the leper colony of Molokai, so vividly biographed by Robert Louis Stevenson. Father O’Connell was young, ardent, tireless and deeply sincere. He was no historian. It never occurred to him to doubt the genuineness of the legends that were in the very air he breathed. He was the worthy successor of those early pioneer priests who had built the Cathedral. He appreciated the historic value and beauty of the structure and the contents committed to his custody. It is entirely due to his unremitting, devoted labors that the old cathedral was rescued from

decay in its perishable parts; that all its relics were restored to proper condition, and that the edifice, clothed in simple splendor, now stands, one of the most beautiful and interesting in the whole country. He it was who had the bell recast with the false inscription. But it was not false to him. Nobody could doubt his sincerity. He was merely one even among the clergy who, as the historian Webb remarked, had accepted the impression of the fable as true. On one occasion when visiting Father O'Connell I asked him in curiosity if there were in his church records or in any public or private archives in Bardstown, any entries to show that Louis Philippe had resided there or made the gifts attributed to him. He frankly answered "No." He was a holy and devoted man, but he had neither the time nor the stomach for the laborious work of historical research. And so he believed and went to his grave believing the legend.

There is nowhere in all early Catholic history, biography, memoir, letters or journals any mention that I have been able to find of Louis Philippe's "residence" there, or of any gift, whatsoever, made by him to the church. In the comprehensive Catholic Encyclopedia no article remotely concerning the diocese of Bardstown, or its successor, mentions his name. He is not even entered, biographically, in that work, as all other monarchs are who served the Catholic Church in faith or gifts. It is unbelievable that this would be so if the popular fable were approximately true. There is nowhere, in any other historical publication that I have been able to find, even any incidental mention before 1874 of this legend.

There is somewhat of genuine pathos in the neglect of those devoted and modest early priests, whose self-sacrifices planted the Catholic Church in Kentucky and clothed its altars in beauty. There is amusement, however, in the grotesque selection of Louis Philippe as a prince bountiful. There is curious interest in the beginnings of the slight affiliation of his legend with local history. True, he was, when he passed meteorically through Kentucky in 1797, a handsome young prince apparently in distress. Then he became a King. Human nature, contemplating the conventional glory of kings, always has yearned to associate with their heritage of power the qualities of beneficence, gratitude and princely justice. But it is one of the particular ironies of fate that Louis Philippe, of all the princes of Europe of the last century, should be selected as having been grateful and generous. The literature of his life is not so voluminous that it may not easily be read. The impression left upon the student of it is that of a man clever, witty, indefatigably ambitious, meanly avari-

cious, shifty, cynical and insincere. As king he took all those qualities into the glare of the throne.

Frugality, even parsimony, are ingrained characteristics of the French people, easily accounted for by their medieval history. But Louis Philippe achieved a reputation for grasping avarice so excessive that it outraged even the parsimony of his people—certainly an ignoble eminence for a king. It finally cost him his throne. All this is formal and open history. For our purpose we need examine only the record of his stay of fifteen months in America.

After fleeing from France in 1793 to escape the Terror which he and his father, the notorious Egalite, had helped to bring on, he busied himself under assumed names trying to organize all Europe against his late friends of the French Directory. It has been said that it was Napoleon in command of the republican army in the Austrian campaign of 1796, who sensed the danger of Louis Philippe's activities against the Government of France and recommended that he be "bought off." Whether it was Napoleon's penetration or not, the Directory at Paris offered to restore to the Duchess of Orleans, mother of the prince, part of her properties if she would guarantee that Louis Philippe, with his younger brothers, would go to America, stay there and cease his plottings. This was readily agreed to, but owing to war conditions the prince could not get to his mother, then in Spain. In the emergency Gouverneur Morris, United States Minister to France, was appealed to and advanced a loan of £15,000 (300,000 francs) direct to Louis Philippe's credit in London, and this was generously increased when the two brothers joined him in Philadelphia. Mrs. Parker goes into this transaction, writing with unconcealed friendliness to Louis Philippe. She says the prince drew sparingly upon this generous treasure, "repaying every dollar in good time." Their expenditure for four years, she points out, including the American tour, did not exceed £13,000. Their account book, in which every item of expense was entered, Louis Philippe proudly exhibited to American guests at Versailles after he became King. Here, forgetting the statement that the loan "was repaid in good time," Mrs. Parker says: "These loans remained unpaid for a long time, but were at length fully reimbursed with interest." Gouverneur Morris died in 1816 and Louis Philippe became King in 1830. It is a good guess that the French nation repaid the money to the Morris estate.

At New Orleans, in 1798, our Prince was hospitably entertained by the aristocratic Bernard de Marigny, who advanced him money freely. Years passed and he heard no rumor of repayment. When

Louis Philippe was made, King M. de Marigny, now grown old, with his fortune depleted, took his son, a young cadet, and went to France to get his money. He was received with much politeness and entertained at the palace for some weeks. But every time he mentioned money this rich King grew cold, pleaded poverty and changed the subject. Though Greek was dealing with Greek, the best M. de Marigny could do was to leave his son in France to be educated at the military college of St. Cyr, at the expense of the French nation, with the promise of the King personally to see to his promotion in the army. When the young cadet's education was completed he got the regular lieutenancy, was sent off to provincial barracks, received no promotion and resigned to come home with all the royal promises unfulfilled.

Louis Philippe was always ostensibly in financial straits in America, notwithstanding the famous account book. In Philadelphia, dazzled by the prospects of dollars as against francs, he sought to marry Miss Willing, the daughter of a rich banker, but her father coldly forbade the alliance, telling the young prince: "If you are penniless you are not a suitable match for my daughter. If you should come to the throne my daughter would not be a suitable match for you." With more than £15,000 when he arrived in 1796, he yet claimed to be destitute in the summer of 1797. Thomas Morris loaned him money to get to Philadelphia from Northern New York. When he arrived there he was "broke" again and said he must await a remittance from his mother. Significant is this item of the record there: "Their one servant, Baudoin, did the work of the house and was valet besides. He used to get the better of the market women, it was said, in his close management of household expenses." Baudoin evidently knew his business and his master's.

They accepted hospitality of everybody, everywhere, even of Talleyrand, who was in New York in exile. He advised him to visit New England. There is no record of any money borrowed there. Did Talleyrand, who knew his prince well, warn his Eastern friends?

At Havana in 1798 the French residents contributed a purse of 14,000 francs for the royal hardups, and the young French priest, Benedict Joseph Flaget, destined to be Bishop of Bardstown twelve years later, was asked to make the presentation, which he did with most agreeable tact. Louis Philippe would have received it as readily without the tact. He refused nothing that was valuable; he gave nothing that was valuable. He had no sense of gratitude and none of loyalty but himself. Talleyrand was polite and useful to him in this country, and when he became King served him well as Am-

bassador to England. Yet when the news was brought to him of Talleyrand's death, his mordant and cynical wit expressed itself in the question to his guests at dinner: "Now, what interest could he have had in dying at this time?"

This was the prince who has been elevated into something like a patron saint here in Kentucky by those who believed he was deeply moved by a feeling of gratitude toward Bishop Flaget. First, for affording him protection during a residence at Bardstown, where he never resided, and, second, for the presentation of the purse at Havana. Curiously enough, it seems clear, the whole myth arose out of the incident of the purse. Its origin is quite simple and its growth clearly traced in its recorded history. It is a remarkable example of how fine irony and playful humor are often taken seriously and disastrously.

For several years before 1844 Dr. Martin John Spalding, the distinguished Catholic scholar, subsequently Archbishop of Baltimore, was pastor of the cathedral at Bardstown. He wrote the fine volume called "Sketches of Early Catholic Missions in Kentucky." He was much younger than Bishop Flaget and Fathers Badin and Nerinckx, but he knew them all personally. The Bishop recognized his great promise and adopted his future. That volume contains the first brief sketch of Bishop Flaget's life written from first hand information. Coming to the Bishop's short stay as a tutor-priest in Havana in 1798 the book says:

"While there he became acquainted with the present King of the French, who was then a fugitive from his country and in great distress. The people of Havana made up a considerable sum of money and appointed M. Flaget to hand over the amount to the illustrious exile."

That was all—the record of an incidental polite service rendered. In 1848 Dr. Spalding had been raised to Bishop Coadjutor of Kentucky and was living in Louisville with Bishop Flaget, then in his 83d year, in the intimate relation of spiritual son to father. After the Bishop's death in 1850, having access to all his journals and papers, Bishop Spalding, out of gratitude and appreciation, wrote the full and valuable "Life of Bishop Flaget," published in 1852 by B. J. Webb and Bro., Louisville. In that volume he restated the Havana incident, enlarging it slightly. Its close reads thus:

"The inhabitants, sympathizing with their [Louis Philippe and his brothers'] misfortunes, made up a large sum of money and appointed M. Flaget to present it in their name to the illustrious exiles. This office was most grateful to his feelings and he discharged it with

his usual tact and grace. This act was remembered long afterward when Louis Philippe was King of the French and he Bishop of Bardstown."

No intimation there how it was remembered, or, in fact, who remembered it; but there is a natural implication to the unguarded reader that Louis Philippe remembered it with the gratitude of a prince. Such was evidently the impression it made long afterwards upon the author of the monumental "Catholicity in Kentucky," who connected it with the popular fable that Louis Philippe had resided and taught school in Bardstown. That fable had begun to link together the bell, the clock, the pictures and the vestments with the "residence." A generation had grown up that knew not Badin and Nerinckx, nor their works. Writing, then, thirty years later, Mr. Webb adopted Bishop Spalding's account of the Havana incident, but gave it in paraphrase thus:

"The service required of him [Bishop Flaget] was performed with so much tact and discretion, and so feelingly withal, that it secured to him the lasting friendship of the exiled princes. This was afterwards evidenced in a tangible manner when the elder of the princes became king of France and the spokesman of the almoners was bishop of Bardstown."

The historian there was walking a tight rope. He knew personally, and has recorded, where the cathedral bell came from; he did not know of anything else that Louis Philippe had given, but, accepting the implication from Dr. Spalding's passage and yielding somewhat for caution to the popular fable, he contented himself with recording "lasting friendship" and "tangible evidence" as the Prince's grateful return. It is in these words "lasting friendship" and "tangible" alone, that the fable has the semblance of a historical hook to hang upon.

Further on in his life of Bishop Flaget, however, Bishop Spalding gives the true solution of his own phrase, "this act was remembered long afterward when Louis Philippe was King of the French." It is in the account of Bishop Flaget's visit to Europe and especially to Rome (1835-39) after Louis Philippe had attained the throne. Returning from Rome to Paris, one of the Bishop's stops is thus recorded:

"At Vienna he had an audience with the Emperor and dined with Metternich. He also visited the illustrious exile, Charles X, ex-King of France, and, though unwilling to interfere in the politics of Europe, he yet yielded cheerfully to the pious wishes of the family

and invoked a blessing on the head of the young heir to the French throne."

Charles X was of the legitimate branch and the revolution of 1830 had overthrown him and brought Louis Philippe to his place. The paragraph just quoted called out this restrained playful footnote by Bishop Spalding:

"We have often been amused at hearing him [Bishop Flaget] relate the coldness with which he was treated by the court of Louis Philippe on his return to Paris. At his previous visit the King of the French had shown him every polite attention; at the last he was entirely unnoticed and invited to no audience."

This is the first information we have that he had called on the King on his way to Rome. There are two implications to be drawn from the footnote. One, serious, that Louis Philippe resented the religious blessing of this legitimate boy claimant to the throne he himself was then occupying. The other is of light, playful fun at the expense of Louis Philippe's well known parsimony. The author does not intimate that the Bishop received anything more from this "King of the French" than "every polite attention." That was exactly what Bernard de Marigny of New Orleans got for the money due him—politeness; no cash. It is not to be believed that so gentle, mild and saintly a prelate as Bishop Flaget would have spoken lightly of a prince who had gratefully rewarded his church. Rather would he be gravely concerned if a stone of resentment had fallen into the smooth current of friendship through any political slip of his, involving the influence of his church in Europe. If he had received no gifts, he properly might exhibit playful humor.

We may go ever further. Louis Philippe, strictly speaking, owed no gratitude to Bishop Flaget that polite attentions would not fully repay. It does not appear that the Bishop had anything to do with the raising of the purse in Havana, or even contributed to it. As he happened to be the only French priest there at the time he was asked to present it. No Spanish priest would dare do it. Yet the service could be amply repaid by polite thanks between gentlemen.

Now, it has been shown that Mr. Webb's use of the simple word "tangible" is the only historical basis for the fable that Louis Philippe gave presents to the Bardstown Cathedral. There is but one other possible but missing fragment of evidence which might connect him with any act of largesse to this diocese. Years ago, before I had any thought of writing upon this subject, I am quite sure I read in some book of memoir a letter from some Catholic clergyman of Kentucky who had called upon a French King to plead the poverty of his

church in the West and ask for his help. The King listened politely and then informed the petitioner that he would arrange an interview for the next day with the Queen and her ladies. The priest duly returned and was introduced to the royal circle of ladies who promised to contribute 20,000 francs (\$4,000). Whether the king was Louis XVIII, Charles X, or Louis Philippe I cannot recall, but the Catholic Church here was in desperate need during all three of those reigns. I cannot remember the book and have sought patiently in many volumes for that letter. I am inclined to the belief that it was Louis Philippe, and that the petitioner was Bishop Flaget. If that be the fact, it is still to be noted that it was the pious women of his family who gave the sum in question. Depend upon it that Louis Philippe himself provided none of it. If, as was done in the case of Bernard de Marigny, he could have charged the expense to the French nation he might have consented, but as the next best thing he let his women pay it out of their own funds.

Bishop Flaget is credited in the Vatican archives with several certified miracles through faith, but the very great one of getting anything out of the pockets of Louis Philippe is not among them.

* * *

After the deed comes the apologia. It may be asked what is to be gained by destroying a legend containing suggestions of some beauty, which has grown up about forgotten men and living things and served to keep alive contact with long past days? The highest ideal, often buried under expediency, is that Truth is more beautiful than all her alluring sisters of Falsehood. If this be not true, why strive for sincerity and the facts of life?

No mere fancies, no disagreements about the origin of the relics at old St. Joseph's can possibly affect their inherent value and beauty, or disturb the glory of their sacramental dedication in the hearts of those who shall understandingly see them.

The tendency here in America to import and accept glamorous romantic color of Old World royalty clinging to relics which generations of us have come to venerate, is perfectly natural. One must be an inbred and incorrigible democrat, indeed, lightly to scorn the gilding of great titles, or the thing which royalty of blood or genius has actually touched with its own hands. But in the instance before us it has gone to the extreme, where an ignoble hand intrudes—where the empty fable threatens to obscure a glamor of our own history which should be infinitely more beautiful to us, and is, moreover, unquestionably true.

A splendid but almost forgotten human glory of the pioneer Catholic Church of Kentucky hides behind those beautiful pictures in the old Cathedral at Bardstown; the voices of real martyrs to faith ring out yet from the old bell of Lyons in its tower; memories of association dwell like the fumes of incense in the folds of those old vestments, in which the early missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church celebrated Holy Mass in the dawning days. Instead of the cynical face of Louis Philippe behind these relics, there are to be perceived through the crystal of history the humble and almost saintly countenances of three missionary priests who lived and labored and loved God in His vineyard, which they planted here in the wilderness, and who died with no hope of reward this side of the heaven to which they sought nobly to lead others.

The histories of these men have been written, it is true, but only fragmentarily, or in that guise of the spiritual interest overwhelming the material with which priests write the history of other priests. Lives thus written are lost among those who write them. They never pass on out into the great body of the laity to infuse the mass with admiration and respect for the same heroic courage, the same noble humility and the same human self-sacrifices which they must and do make in serving their Lord as worldly heroes must make who serve their King or their State. There can be found no finer chapter in the pioneer history of Kentucky yet to be written than that in which Father Badin, Father Nerinckx and Bishop Flaget will appear as the makers and molders of spiritual and material civilization in the wilderness. Badin was as doughty a pioneer as Boone; Nerinckx was as indomitable as George Rogers Clark. Nothing dismayed them; not even the fear that they might not live long enough to serve God as they sought. They fought valiantly even while they feared. There is no more stirring subject for the competent historian than the story of their personal adventures in the wilds of early Kentucky and Indiana. Behind and supporting them both blazed the serene spiritual light and enthusiasm of Bishop Flaget, who not only left his impress upon Kentucky but came to be regarded in Europe as almost an apostolic saint. When he went to Rome even a Pope hung upon his blessing, and three years of his crusade throughout France, then almost dead to religion, set the fires of faith alight again and great crowds followed to hear his message as once men followed about the shores of Galilee.

These are the splendid adventurers of faith who found Kentucky a stony field and after a deathless struggle left it a rose garden blooming in beauty and happiness. Their works still remain for all

of us to enjoy, whether we are of their faith or another. Bishop Flaget lies under the altar of his second cathedral in Louisville; Father Nerineckx under a lonely stone among his Sisterhood of Loretto. Father Badin, who, like Boone, found a margarita exaluminata concealed here in the wilds, lies, alas! in a strange field outside the garden he planted and nourished with his very blood. Is there not in this glorious epic of devotion and achievement something of great beauty, far outshining the tinselled fiction of a prince who gave nothing and reaped a spurious fame? It has been said that "The Pyramids, doting with age, have forgotten the names of their founders." Shall we, who have eaten of the garden and drunken of the wine of sacrificial sweat of our heroic pioneers, forget their names in the doting age of the prosperity they left us?

THE END

POSTSCRIPT TO THE LOUIS PHILIPPE LEGEND

Since the foregoing paper was read before the Filson Club November 5, 1923, there have been numerous publications and considerable correspondence concerning it. In every instance the only challenges of the accuracy of the paper have been as to those parts of the legend which attributed to the generosity and gratitude of Louis Philippe many valuable beautiful gifts to the old Cathedral. Nobody has appeared to support the original romance that he resided for several years and taught school at Bardstown. That foundation part of the whole legend is so easily upset by chronology that, despite its persistence for a century, it has been surrendered without protest.

As to the gifts he is alleged to have presented, the means of identifying them in order that definite proof of their existence and origin may be sought, is so tenuous and uncertain that they present a problem of more difficulty to the historian who may be in search of facts instead of popular fancies. Let it be said here the friendly discussion has thus far produced nothing of authoritative historical proof to alter the conclusions of the original paper. If Louis Philippe presented any gifts to the old Cathedral the proof of it rests upon the same basis of early gossip and legend as that of his residence at Bardstown in exile. The records of the church, the personal letters, journals and diaries of the clergy and laity living at the time, and who would have known, contain no entry referring to any such gifts, though they are filled with precise mentions of other gifts from less interesting sources.

For the light thrown upon the subject it is desirable, however, to consider the supposed facts and arguments that have been brought forward to support the legend of the gifts. Some of these question the accuracy of several statements in the original paper. It is proper to receive and make correction of such details even though they do not at all affect the accuracy of the main fact set forth.

For instance, we are informed that there is no inscription at present on the bell in St. Joseph's tower at Bardstown recording that it was a gift from Louis Philippe. Granted. Yet such an inscription was put there when it was first recast in Louisville in 1887. There is in my possession a photo-engraving of the bell taken at that time showing the inscription, as follows:

A. D. 1821
Louis Philippe,
King of the French,
Gave to St. Joseph's Church,
Bardstown, Ky.,
This Bell,
Which Broke
And was Recast
A. D. 1887,
By Kaye & Co., Louisville, Ky.

Personally I have never climbed the tower to see the bell, but have read the inscription often in published articles concerning that beautiful and historic church. Others, therefore, had seen the bell with the inscription. It was natural to assume that the inscription was repeated when the bell was recast the second time. It would seem, however, that Father O'Connell, who directed both recasts, suspected or was informed of his error, and so had the lines omitted on the second recast. I was corrected also in that the second recast was made in Cincinnati and not in Philadelphia. Granted. But that fact has no value whatever as proof of the bell's origin.

It was a decided surprise, however, when there was produced a quotation from Spalding's "Sketches of Early Catholic Missions in Kentucky" (1844), as follows:

"The Cathedral was also provided with rich suits of vestments, golden candlesticks, a golden tabernacle and other splendid ornaments, presented to the Bishop by the present King and Queen of the French."

The surprise was two-fold: First, that I had never before observed the entry; second, to note that when Bishop Spalding came to recast his first fragmentary sketch of 1844 into the full "Life of Bishop

Flaget" in 1852 (as Father O'Connell later came to recast the bell a second time) he omitted the passage about the gifts as Father O'Connell omitted the inscription from the bell. The reason is not far to seek. The legend of Louis Philippe's "residence" in Bardstown had grown from two days' actual stay in 1797 to two periods of residence covering about four years. Mathematically that is an expansion of two days by exactly 73,000 per cent, which may not be extreme for legends or rumors. But reasons for the "residence" had to be furnished. So they were supplied in the form of his gratitude and affection for Bishop Flaget for his supposed protection. Tangible expressions of that fancied gratitude and affection would naturally be expected. They were promptly furnished in "gifts." It is idle to seek the origin of such legends. There was no fraud. There was no reason for fraud. Legends start in the air and, like orchids, subsist upon it.

But that Bishop Spalding's omission of the "splendid gifts" from the full "Life" of Bishop Flaget was deliberate and intentional is shown by reading the later paragraph of 1852. He expanded the meeting with Louis Philippe in Havana from five lines in the "Sketches" to double the space in the "Life." He adds the presence of Louis Philippe's two brothers, a matter of no importance. He explains the paragraph in two foot notes. All this shows that his mind was alert to all the facts and implications arising from the chance meeting. One of the foot notes relates to the causes of Louis Philippe's expulsion from Cuba, the other to a probable error in the Bishop's journal concerning the amount of money contributed for the exiles. But to the statement that the Bishop's act of courtesy "was remembered long afterward" there is no foot note explaining how it was remembered or by whom. Yet that was exactly the place to record in text or by footnote that it was remembered by splendid gifts of pictures, vestments and golden furniture for the Bishop's cathedral. If the courtesy was worth careful recording so, certainly, was its reciprocation, if there was any.

There is another significant alteration. It should be noted that he says Bishop Flaget's act "was remembered long afterward when Louis Philippe was King of the French and he [Bishop Flaget] Bishop of Bardstown." Louis Philippe became King in 1830; the last of the gifts credited to him by the legend was in 1827. If any came after 1830 I know of no reference to them. But the subsequent mention of Louis Philippe in the "Life" suggests sharply that Bishop Spalding was with gentle sarcasm referring to Louis Philippe's empty

“polite attentions” in 1835 and his cold rebuff of Bishop Flaget on a letter occasion.

Moreover, when in the “Life” he comes to describe the building of the cathedral at Bardstown, he mentions Father Nerineckx’s gifts of “superb paintings,” Father Chabrat’s of the bell, and the generosity of contributions, but not a word is said of the alleged gifts of the French King. The omission is again apparently by deliberate intention, since that was eminently another place for their mention.

It may be said here that Bishop Spalding is such high authority upon the early history of the Catholic Church in Kentucky that, if I had observed at the outset his first statement crediting the gifts to Louis Philippe and his Queen, I, too, should probably have accepted it with as much finality as some others do. But since there is no authority so high that its sources may not be examined to determine accuracy or error, and the opportunities of the witness to know the facts, it is permissible to dissect this.

Bishop Spalding was not born at Bardstown. He went there first as a boy of sixteen in 1826 to attend St. Joseph’s College. At that time Bishop Flaget was sixty-four years of age, about forty-eight years older than the young student. The qualities of the student were so promising that the Bishop in 1830 sent him to Rome where his education was completed and he was ordained. He returned to Bardstown in the late Fall of 1834 bringing so much promise of his great subsequent career that the Bishop, then seventy-two, appointed him at the age of 24 pastor of the Cathedral. Their ages are significant factors to show that up to this time there was little possible intimacy between the venerable prelate and the young priest. The latter was really the chosen protege of Father Kenrick, one of the faculty of St. Joseph’s College, afterwards Bishop of Philadelphia. Early the next Spring, in 1835, after Father Spalding’s return, and after a winter of preparation for absence, Bishop Flaget went to Europe, whence he did not return until 1839 to plunge at once into his arrearages of diocesan visits, from the lakes to the Alabama line. He was then seventy-seven years old, growing physically weak, and travel was trying. There was no intimate contact thus far between him and Father Spalding.

In the meantime, during his absence in Europe, the Bishop in 1837 transferred the young priest from Bardstown to the pastorate of St. Peter’s in Lexington where he remained until 1838 and was then recalled to Bardstown to the presidency of St. Joseph’s College. There he remained for two years. Then in 1841, when, to the deep disappointment of the Bardstown congregation, the See was removed

to Louisville, Bishop Flaget appointed Father Spalding again to the pastorate of St. Joseph's, relying upon his popularity and strong personal influence to ameliorate the dissatisfaction. He succeeded largely, and there he remained until 1844. There was little of contact to that date.

From his return to Bardstown from Rome in 1834 until his death as Archbishop of Baltimore, Father Spalding was an indefatigable writer. He began his "Sketches" before 1840. Ben J. Webb, his publisher, says they were written and compiled "for the most part as early as 1839." This is evident because in the published book there is a foot note appended to the crediting of the gifts to Louis Philippe, saying:

"These, too [the gifts], were removed to Louisville on the translation of the episcopal See to that city."

The See was transferred in 1841, so that the foot note was obviously written after that date. The preface to the "Sketches" was dated "Bardstown, Kentucky, Corpus Christi, 1844," which would go to prove that the book was conceived, written, and finally published between 1838 and 1844. It was scarcely begun before 1837, since he gives to Father Badin almost sole credit for the wealth of its information. Now, Father Badin went to France in 1819 and did not return to America until 1828, but was absent from Bardstown until 1837, a term of eighteen years. It was during his absence as well as that of Father Spalding (Rome 1830-1834) that the legend of Louis Philippe began to reach out and attach itself to the bell, clock, paintings, vestments, and other adornments of the Cathedral. Father Badin and Father Spalding both found it rooted there, accepted and unquestioned. Neither could have had personal knowledge.

Believers in both aspects of the legend will argue with plausibility that Father Spalding was there in 1827 when the gifts are said to have come. That is true. He was a boy of seventeen, Bishop Flaget was sixty-five. If the gifts came from Louis Philippe there is no record that Bishop Flaget ever made announcement of the fact, or told the young student. It is to be noted also that while the "Sketches" are dedicated to Bishop Flaget the author does not include him as a source of information, and specifically says that he had not known Father Nerinckx, who had died before he came to the Bardstown pastorate. He did know Father Chabrat, Bishop Coadjutor, who had much to do with gifts, but did not know him well until after 1844.

It was in 1844 that Father Spalding came into close contact with Bishop Flaget. He was then, in his thirty-fourth year, moved to Louisville to be vicar-general, and at once began his rapid and remarkable development. Bishop Flaget was at that date in his eighty-second year, practically in retirement, his coadjutor performing the active duties. He was to live five years longer, preparing himself with prayer for his approaching end, much in the ascetic solitude toward which he had always been inclined. He was consulted by his vicar-general for his wishes as often as necessary, we may believe, and in the few remaining years we may well assume there were hours of intimate converse between them. The Bishop found the vicar-general a strong staff of support and an intellectual delight.

Father Spalding was even then doubtless preparing to record the saint-like life fading out before his eyes. Then it was, if ever, he learned the exact truth as to the Bishop's relations with Louis Philippe. He has put the summary of that knowledge before us in the passages quoted in the preceding paper. He does not confirm the statement made eight years previously about the alleged gifts, but he describes the meetings, which were of less importance than the gifts would have been—if Louis Philippe made any gifts. His references are careful and tinged with obvious amusement.

It may be argued with some pertinence, perhaps, that if he did not specifically correct his original statement it is to stand as true. We may wish he had issued a second edition of the "Sketches," which would have had his personal revision. Alas! he did not. But those familiar with his earnestness and the precision with which he expressed himself will not doubt for an instant that in the "Life" he set forth the truth as he came to know it.

It is possible to insist that Father Spalding did not publish his "Sketches" without submitting the manuscript to the Bishop, which would assume the Bishop's confirmation of the alleged gifts. But submission was not necessary. The book was historical, not doctrinal, or controversial. There is no episcopal imprimatur upon the volume. It might have been printed (with its fine dedication to the Bishop) as a pleasant surprise. And it omits, as does every other record, any statement that the Bishop himself ever credited any gifts to Louis Philippe.

From this angle it is very enlightening now to examine this later book, the "Life, Times and Character of Bishop Flaget," of 1852 and see how it was prepared. In the preface the author, (then become Bishop Spalding) explains that his narrative is based upon the contents of thirty-four volumes of Bishop Flaget's journals (cover-

ing thirty-four years) and the examination of about 3,000 letters received by that prelate, some from "distinguished persons." There were also copies of his own letters to such persons. Amongst all these records it does not appear that the Bishop referred to any letter to or from Louis Philippe, or made any mention of him in the journals. He did record the receipt of large and small gifts, personal to himself and to the church, but none from Louis Philippe.

While abroad for instance (1835-1839) Bishop Flaget made interesting entries regarding his travels. He was born of humble country parentage, unaccustomed to great personages and worldly honors. When he returns to France he discovers that he has become famous through his American labors and achievements. His reaction to the change in his personal consequence is naive and beautiful. "I find myself," he writes at Avignon, "associating with Archbishops, Bishops, Mayors, Prefects, Marquises and Counts." He notes with deep humility the honors paid him by those in high places. He records his audience with the Austrian Emperor, his meeting with Charles X in exile, his dinner with Prince Metternich; his reception at Turin by King Charles Albert; his stay with the Count de Maistre, governor of Nice, and the overwhelming kindness and honors paid him by Pope Gregory XVI and the cardinals. The gifts made to him are mentioned. All this was as miracles in Hans Christian Andersen-land to that simple, saintly, peasant soul. But nowhere does Louis Philippe appear—the King of Benedict Flaget's own country—the one personage from whom honors and gifts would have descended with a significance especially dear to him. It is only in a casual footnote that Bishop Spalding records that Louis Philippe was first "polite" and then coldly inaccessible.

Take Bishop Spalding's own statement in the early sketch of 1844, that every one of the particular gifts ascribed to Louis Philippe and his Queen had been removed to the Cathedral church at Louisville. In 1852 he was himself bishop and the new Cathedral of the Assumption was his own creation, had become his own episcopal seat. If he knew those gifts were royal—from whomsoever they came—would he have omitted confirmation of the earlier statement? He repeats everything but that.

Through the efforts made to bring home to Louis Philippe the presentation of gifts we are furnished dates of mention earlier than that in the "Sketches." In 1832 the Hon. Charles A. Wicliffe, representing the Bardstown district, had an act passed by Congress remitting customs duties on a shipment of certain paintings, church furniture, etc., imported from France through the port of New Orleans

in 1827. In his speech urging its passage (1832) Mr. Wickliffe said they were presents from the former Duke of Orleans, "now the King of the French"—which would be Louis Philippe.

Mr. Wickliffe's speech is cited as proof of the origin of the gifts, whereas it is really proof only of the legend. Mr. Wickliffe was as earnest and sincere as Bishop Spalding and Father O'Connell. He was a loyal Presbyterian and he was absent much from Bardstown, as was Bishop Flaget—who then had a diocese of enormous territorial extent. The two probably had no intimate association, but an undoubted mutual respect. Mr. Wickliffe was quite as open to belief in the legend as were the Catholics themselves. Nowhere in his speech does he speak by authority, or quote Bishop Flaget, but merely asserts, apparently of his own motion in explanation, that these were presents from the "now King of the French" and that Bishop Flaget could not well decline them, yet ought to be relieved of the customs charges upon them. He, too, was not native to Bardstown but had moved into the atmosphere of the legend. It is certainly singular that nobody has anywhere quoted one word spoken by Bishop Flaget, or written in his numerous and voluminous diaries and letters, indicating that he had received any gift from Louis Philippe. Yet we all know that "gifts from Kings are ne'er forgot."

It is insisted by careless searchers that in the act of 1832, and in the petition asking remission of these duties, the gifts were declared to have come from Louis Philippe. That is an error. Two acts of remission to Bishop Flaget are in the printed acts of Congress; neither contains any mention of the senders of the gifts; nor have any petitions showing their source yet been discovered among original Congressional documents and papers. Mentions of Louis Philippe have invariably been injected by outsiders and appear purely as volunteer explanations. That is the only buttress of the legend—its popular belief extending even to outsiders.*

*As an example of this careless confusion of fact with explanation may be cited a letter upon the subject in hand, printed in the New York Catholic periodical "America", October 14, 1922. The writer of it recites in quotation marks the alleged title of the bill as being "an act which 'authorized the remission of the duties on certain paintings and church furniture presented by the King of the French to the Catholic Bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky.' " He is evidently quoting from Gales and Seaton's Register of Debates in Congress of March 19, 1832. There, however, the lines quoted are enclosed in parentheses, plainly as explanation adopted from Mr. Wickliffe's casual reference to the King of the French in his speech. The Journal of the Senate when the bill was introduced, the report of the Ways and Means Committee recommending its enactment, and all references to it in various stages, give the correct title thus:

But in order to get to the bottom, if possible, of this transaction I have obtained from the Treasury Department at Washington photostatic facsimiles of the customhouse papers at New Orleans bearing upon this special shipment for which Mr. Wickliffe had the duties remitted. The articles passed through on the 27th day of October, 1827 in a consignment to Andrew Hodge, Jr., of New Orleans on the brig, "Union," from Marseilles. The articles of the consignment on which duties were remitted are described as "4 boxes pictures, etc.; 10 vol. books F, and 1 ditto [box] 4 holly boddies" [sic]. The total value of the manifest is \$4,653.75. That all this was not for Bishop Flaget is apparent. Mr. Hodge was then a commission merchant at No. 3 Magazine Street, New Orleans, and was doubtless importing on his own account. Note is made that all the duties had been "paid by Hodge, Jr." The official notation of the Collector of Customs made on the remittance of duty certificate shows that specific duties of 40 cents (or 4 cents each) on books, and ad valorem duties on \$31 value at 12½ per cent, and on \$937 value at 15 per cent were "to be repaid to Benedict Joseph Flaget per Act 31 of March, 1832." The total sum thus repaid was \$144.82, as attested by the original receipt of Bishop Flaget in 1834. This defines the appraised value of the gifts championed by Mr. Wickliffe.

So, then, if these were the gifts of paintings, rich vestments, golden candlesticks, a golden tabernacle and "other splendid ornaments," noted by Bishop Spalding as from "the King of the French and his Queen" in 1844, which note was suppressed in 1852—and which gifts, it seems confusedly, were attributed to the King of Sicily and Pope Leo XII—their combined value was \$968, exclusive of ten books. If Louis Philippe contributed his one-fourth pro rata, his share would amount to \$242! Any consideration of the nature of Louis Philippe leaves it a generous guess that he might have permitted his wife, Queen Marie Amelie, to contribute two shares, or \$484 out of her own funds, while he secured the reward of appearing as a munificent benefactor by "allowing the use of his name."*

"An Act for the relief of Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown in the State of Kentucky" and no more. Louis Philippe is not recorded by Congress any more than he was by Bishop Flaget.

*To show the intense persistence of a legend that once finds a foothold, it is only necessary to point out that, notwithstanding the statement in 1844 that every one of these alleged gifts had been removed to the new cathedral in Louisville, it is still claimed after eighty years that some, if not all, are yet in old St. Joseph's at Bardstown. Curiously enough these gifts were considered of so little importance, notwithstanding their "splendor and costliness" in gold

There is a still earlier act of Congress remitting duties on "certain vestments, furniture and paintings" for the relief of Bishop Flaget. It was introduced in the House December 30, 1824, and was not finally passed by the Senate and approved until May 20, 1826. The House Journal (18th Congress, second session, p. 91) has this entry:

"Mr. Moore of Kentucky presented a petition of Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of the Roman Apostolical Church of the Diocese of Bardstown in the State of Kentucky praying that the duties chargeable by law 'on some rich church vestments and other articles of church furniture' presented to the petitioner by his Grace the Duke of Orleans at Lyons in France for the sole use of the church in which he exercises his religious functions may be remitted."

The entry by the clerk, judging from the use of the quotation marks, is evidently a rendering of the remarks made by Mr. Moore upon introducing the bill. The original bill has not been found by the clerk of the House. In the printed copy there is no mention of any donors. It is considered doubtful if any written petitions were filed. Requests and motions were considered and spoken of as "petitions."

Mr. Moore was Major Thomas P. Moore, of Harrodsburg, who represented the district in Congress in 1826. He was a Protestant and no more intimate with Bishop Flaget than was Mr. Wickliffe. It is an interesting coincidence that John Rowan of Bardstown, who was a Catholic, was a Senator from Kentucky and voted for the bill. He said nothing about Louis Philippe. The records of this shipment through the port of New York have long been destroyed. There is nothing to show as a record that Bishop Flaget said the gifts came from Louis Philippe. There were then four persons in a position to know positively: The Bishop, his coadjutor [Bishop David], Father Elder, president of the College, and Father Kenrick. If there is anything existent upon the subject it is to be sought among their papers and records. But the legend was certainly busy at that early date. Writing one hundred years later of a visit to New Orleans, Julian Street, the well-known author says this of the Louis Philippe legend there: "How, although the refugee Duc d'Orleans (later Louis Philippe of France) stayed but a short time in New Orleans [5 weeks] did he manage to sleep in so many hundred beds and in houses which were not built long after his departure?"

and art, that they have been lost to memory in positive identification in the Louisville Cathedral where they seem never to have attracted attention. Some altar ornaments were dispersed in Louisville.

Of the parsimony of Louis Philippe under similar circumstances we get a definite glimpse in the "Life of Bishop Machebeuf," first bishop of Colorado, who in 1845 was pastor of a church at Sandusky, Ohio. Father Machebeuf, a Frenchman, went to France, seeking aid for his church. He wrote home: "I do not know what success I shall have with the Royal Family, but I have written to all of them, beginning with the King [Louis Philippe], then his sister Madame Adelaide, the Duke D'Aumale, who is so rich, and the Princess of Joinville, who is an American. The Queen has not sent the little assistance she promised. Perhaps it will all come at the same time, and, perhaps—nothing!"

If Louis Philippe gave anything Father Machebeuf makes no mention of it. But two weeks later he writes: "Madame Adelaide [the King's sister] gave me — guess how much. About 2,000 francs, you say? Just cut off one zero. The 2,000 would have been little enough, with all her wealth."

Total returns from the munificent Orleans family, \$38.60!*

It is argued by some that persistent "tradition" in the absence of historical record should be accepted as proof. Under such a rule it would be quite as true that Louis Philippe lived in Bardstown for several years and taught school there as that he gave bells, clocks, paintings, vestments and golden altar furniture to the Cathedral—for the two traditions went hand in hand. There is no shadow of truth as to the residence; but the legend of it is persistent, and finally crept into historical mention. It was set forth with fine eloquence on the very floor of Congress more than a hundred years after his one or two days' stop there in 1797. Yet, in spite of "tradition," he never lived there—never saw the place again.

Whether his Queen, Marie Amelie, and her brother, the King of Naples, gave anything to the Cathedral I have not sought to inquire. Let us hope they did. They were loyal Catholics, while Louis Philippe was a product of the irreligion of the French Revolution, turned Catholic for politics only in his middle and old age. If the

*One critic says that in 1846 a petition was sent from Cincinnati to Queen Marie Amelie in France asking for some ornament for the chapel of St. Xavier's College. Response came in the form of a painting of the Assumption "out of the King's private gallery." The proof that this came from the "private" gallery of the King is considered conclusive because the richly gilt frame now contains the inscription, "Donne par le roi en 1846." The Queen sends a gift. It is promptly labeled "from the King," his private gallery. But who says so? Paintings in St. Joseph's are labeled as from Louis Philippe notwithstanding Bishop Spalding's statement that all such were removed to Louisville in 1841.

others gave presents their gifts should be traced. If he gave, depend upon it he gave vicariously.

At the risk of deadly proximity, that which seems to be the groundwork of the Louis Philippe legend may be examined for the most remote possibility of a connection between that personage and Bishop Flaget. It rests upon the tradition, sincerely believed by early residents of Bardstown, that the two had been friends in boyhood in France, and that it was this boyhood affection which led the prince to visit the bishop in the United States. No dates are vouchsafed. Dates are fatal to fables. But the facts as to the boyhood of both are easily ascertainable and from these it is about as plain as possible that they never did know each other in France and never met until chance threw them together in Havana.

They were not boys at the same time. The future bishop, born in 1764, was nearly ten years old when Louis Philippe was born in 1773. The bishop came of humble, peasant parentage, near Billom, in the Southern part of France. Louis Philippe was born to the purple royal in the Palais Royal in Paris in Northern France. The future bishop, doubly orphaned when two years old, was brought up by a pious peasant aunt who was very poor and made many sacrifices to give him to the church. In his age he wrote of her with beautiful gratitude.

He led the life of a hard working but studious peasant boy from the age of fourteen or fifteen, immured in parochial schools and seminaries, "working his way" through. At twenty (when Louis Philippe was ten) he was at the Sulpician monastery at Isse where he spent three years in ascetic solitude and thus developed that life-long love of seculsion which led him several times later to seek to join the silent Trappists. Ordained at Isse he was sent to teach in the theological seminaries of Nantes and Angers. It was in 1791 that he fled from Angers for his life before the revolutionary forces under Dumouriez, in whose army was the Vendome regiment of cavalry commanded by Louis Philippe, then Duke of Chartres, aged eighteen. Young Flaget never saw Paris then.

During these boyhood years where was the royal child? Living in Paris in the splendor of the establishment of his father, great grandson of the famous Prince Regent, the Sardanapalus of the House of Orleans. At eight years the famous Madame de Genlis was made his governess. At twelve he became Duke of Chartres, colonel of a regiment. At eighteen he led it to the war was intended to outlaw religion and destroy the churches and the priesthood. It was before him that young Flaget fled for his life.

When, where and how, amidst these wide separations of years, distances, social conditions and purposes, could they possibly have met and formed a boyish friendship? In those days the difference between a royal duke and a peasant student was in France as great as that between master and field slave in America. There is no anecdote or reference in the recorded life of either that they had ever known each other before meeting in Havana. They never met on United States soil. Louis Philippe stopped a day at Bardstown in 1797. Bishop Flaget arrived there for the first time in 1810, thirteen years later.

This postscript is not written in any acrimonious controversy with those who believe in and cling to the legend of Louis Philippe. Their sincerity is respected, however much their careless acceptance of authority and more careless reading of printed records may be deplored. All of us, I assume, are alike seeking the truth. And if somewhere, sometime, there shall be dug up, as from the musty depths of the Egyptian tombs, any authoritative proof of the miracle that Louis Philippe gave something of value to somebody, I shall honor that surprising proof as they will. The legend of the gifts rests upon the foundation attaching to contact with all kings and potentates—that is, that the very touch of one is healing, that the stay of one in a private house renders the house sacred—therefore that a gift from Louis Philippe must have been all that was splendid, which it would have been—if it had been.

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THE EXPULSION OF THE FRANCISCANS FROM PRUSSIA AND THEIR COMING TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE SUMMER OF 1875

During the year 1875 the "Kulturkampf" was waging relentlessly throughout Germany. In pursuance to the "May Laws" all but three of the Bishops and, by the year 1880, 1,770 priests, had been imprisoned, exiled or called to a better life without anyone to replace them. 9,000 religious, 7,763 of whom were women, had been driven from their convent homes into misery and destitution; 601 parishes comprising some 644,697 souls were entirely bereft of spiritual care; 584 other congregations with over 1,500,000 members were inadequately served by many aged and infirm priests who were left without the necessary assistants and were working themselves slowly to death.¹

But this persecution in Germany proved a great blessing to other countries, notably to the United States. Of the Franciscans alone, about 120 religious (priests, clerics, brothers and students), found a hospitable haven in North America under the protection of the Stars and Stripes. From letters written in those days, especially by the Franciscan Fathers Anselm Puetz (whom we follow except in a few details credited to others), Mark Thienel and Casimir Vogt, we gather most interesting details.

"Our expulsion from Germany" writes Father Anselm Puetz,² "was providential, and we have good reason to be thankful for it to Almighty God.

"The religious Orders tolerated since 1848, such as the Jesuits, Redemptorists and Lazarists, were the first to go. The Franciscans, however, could not be summarily suppressed since the Order's existence was guaranteed by several paragraphs of the Prussian 'Landrecht.' These paragraphs could not be repealed before they had been made the subject of discussion and debate in the Prussian legislative bodies. This is the only reason why the Franciscans were among the last religious to be banished in May, 1875.

¹ Fr. A. Guggenberger, *General History of the Christian Era*, 8th Ed., Vol. III, p. 429.

² Rev. Anselm Puetz, O. F. M., in a letter to Rev. Eugene Hagedorn, O. F. M., dated Cleveland, Ohio, March, 1900.

“The air was filled with rumors. Some were favorable to us, others unfavorable. The faithful Catholics were alarmed and assisted with unwonted fervor at the solemn services in honor of the Sacred Heart of Jesus which we were conducting in our churches. We most earnestly conjured the Sacred Heart to avert the worst. Still, day after day the prospects grew more and more gloomy; our petition was to remain apparently unheard. The orders came. We were condemned to exile, because we could not comply with the state’s demand to acknowledge no foreign superior—the Pope and Father General in Rome. But our prayers were heard after all, in a manner far different from what we had expected. At the time we had little surmised that these events were to bring about the establishment of a vast new Province of the Order to be dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus in far-off America, with headquarters in St. Louis, Missouri.

“When Very Rev. Gregory Janknecht, O. F. M., Provincial, had gathered the novices about him, to explain the state of affairs and to offer them the alternative of leaving the Order or emigrating to America, all without exception declared their readiness to go into exile. This happy result was due to the circumspection of the Very Reverend Father Provincial.³

“In June, 1875, four priests, some lay brothers, and a dozen or more boys that had been students at Annaberg in Silesia, departed for Warendorf.⁴ The remaining members of the community, and the candidates, were to follow them to America, but, owing to a change of plans, they went to Holland where a much larger college for aspirants to the Franciscan Order was soon founded at Harreveld. The religious at Warendorf joined the Silesian exiles that were en-route for America. Fathers Eugene Puers, Arsenius Fahle, and Bede Hansen, who had been denounced to the government for outspoken language and against whom a suit was pending, boarded their train at Hamm.⁵ Their immediate destination was Dusseldorf on the Rhine. As they drew near the monastery, they noticed that the streets were growing more and more crowded. In front of the Franciscan friary a veritable sea of human beings was surging back and forth, and they minced no words in denouncing the outrageous conduct of the liberal government. Only a spark would have been needed to cause open rebellion. Men, women and children intoned familiar, old, religious hymns, such as ‘Wir sind im wahren Christentum,’ and

³ Rev. Anselm Puetz to Rev. E.

⁴ Rev. Marcus Thienel, O. F. M. to Rev. E.

⁵ P. Anselm Puetz, l. c.—P. Mark Thienel, l. c.—Duesseldorfer Volksblatt, Vol. 1875, No. 150; Duesseldorfer Zeitung, June 11 and 25, 1875.

'Fest soll mein Tauf bund immer stehen', etc. It was a spectacle for men and angels. This spontaneous outburst of Catholic sentiment, this public profession of faith, and of loyalty to the sons of St. Francis was re-enacted everywhere at the departure of the religious. At Paderborn, the closing of the Franciscan church caused a riot and six people were wounded by the police. At Werl, however, Warendorf, Wiedenbrueck, and Duesseldorf, the expulsion was effected more peaceably. Hissing was heard here and there. Some rude remarks, such as: 'Now clear out with yaur Fathers' were made at times; but on a whole the closing of the churches passed off quietly.

"When the friars from Silesia and Westphalia arrived at Duesseldorf, the monastery was filled to overflowing; some eighty-five religious answered the roll-call. Slowly and gloomily the hours wore on. The refectory was filled four times before all had received their supper. Finally, the signal for departure was given. To avoid commotion many of the friars wore citizen-clothes, with their military decorations (received for faithful service as nurses in the late wars), on the lapels of their coats. They sauntered in groups of five and six to the quay to await the arrival of their boat. As the people were not accustomed to see the friars in any other garb than the Franciscan habit, they failed to recognize the exiles.

"Omnibusses were waiting at the monastery to convey the older Fathers to the Rhine. The scenes that ensued when they left their beloved cloisters beggar all description. Shoulder to shoulder stood the crowd; working-men in their blouses, citizens of the middle class, ladies and gentlemen of rank—all had come to catch one more glimpse of the religious that had won the love and esteem of all classes, to give expression to their gratitude, to show their unflinching loyalty to holy Mother Church, and to bid the exiles farewell. The omnibusses could hardly advance. The eager crowd seized the reins of the horses, and took hold of the wheels, in order to thank the Fathers once more and bid them God-speed. This scene was repeated over and over again along the road to the river where a large crowd had assembled. All Duesseldorf seemed astir. The police were present but unobtrusive, probably owing to the peaceful character of the demonstration.

"Their boat, styled the 'Koenig,' arrived about one o'clock A. M., and the bridge was lowered. Once all were aboard, they could breathe freely, for none except passengers were permitted on the ship. Father Irenaeus Bierbaum, O. F. M., lector of philosophy at the monastery in Duesseldorf, for whom most of the ovations were intended, threw himself upon a bench in sheer exhaustion from the excitement of the

trying scene. In the meantime the crowd gave vent to its feelings by singing religious hymns; and when the boat left its moorings a thousand throats rang out in a thundering "Hoch, Hoch, Hoch," to the exiles. Reverend Augustine Hensler, who was forced to stay behind for a period, returned the compliment by a triple 'Hoch' to the people of Duesseldorf. As the boat carried the exiles down the Rhine, religious hymns still greeted the departing friars. The strains were audible for a long time; gradually they grew fainter until they died in the darkness.

"The 'Koenig' was a poor excuse of a vessel, insufficiently equipped for so large a number of passengers. There was not even sitting-room for all, much less sleeping-quarters. As their hours wore on, the pangs of hunger were added to the discomfiture of the situation, for in our excitement on the previous evening we had not been able to partake of a full meal. The price of food on the boat was prohibitive, so we preferred to spend the day (it was Friday) fasting until we should reach Rotterdam. The captain was a rude sailor, who ill concealed his satisfaction at our expulsion. At Uerdingen on the Lower Rhine, twelve members of the teaching sisterhood at Coesfeld (Westphalia) known also as the Sisters of Notre Dame of Muelhausen boarded our boat at dawn. They, too, were exiles en-route for Cleveland, Ohio.

"Our steamer now drew near the boundaries of Holland. At Emerich, Dutch custom-house officials came aboard the 'Koenig' to examine our baggage. What could they find but empty pockets? The only cause for anxiety concerned the Fathers who were being pursued by the Prussian police. Was it possible that some informer had revealed their whereabouts? Our fears proved unfounded. Soon the boundary was passed and Rev. Arsenius Fahle was beside himself with joy. Forgetting his hunger and thirst he boisterously intoned 'Lieb' Vaterland, magst ruhig sein.' His confreres joined in and vigorously continued singing 'Die Wacht am Rhein.'⁶

"But let us return to our narrative. Towards three o'clock on Friday afternoon, June 10, 1875, our boat passed the towns of Briel and Gorcum, famous in history as the scene of triumph of the Martyrs of Gorcum. Most of them were Franciscans, and all had died for the faith after sustaining countless insults and tortures at the hands

⁶ They were leaving the "Fatherland" but not forever. Before twelve years had run their course the prudent tactics of Windhorst and his colleagues, backed up by the harmony of the Catholics, caused a law to be passed which permitted the exiles to return.

of the Calvinists. We enthusiastically greeted our martyred Brethren, who had suffered far more than we, by intoning the beautiful hymn: 'Dem Herzen Jesu singe, Mein Herz in Liebeswonn.'

About six o'clock, our river boat, a veritable dwarf compared to the ocean steamers, cast anchor alongside the gigantic 'Rotterdam,' which was to convey us to America. With the greatest joy and alacrity we left our place of torture and climbed aboard our steamer, where we were agreeably surprised to find Mr. Huffer, a merchant of Muenster, Westphalia, a member of the Center Party and a factotum regarding all Catholic institutions. But for his foresight, we should have had to retire to our cabins without supper, as our contract dated from the next day, only. Some Dutch Franciscans called aboard the ship and invited us to visit their monastery. But few of the Fathers accepted the kind invitation; most of us preferred to retire and enjoy a refreshing sleep, of which we had been deprived by the exciting scenes of the preceding days.

Saturday morning, June 11, the "Rotterdam" weighed anchor. Mr. Huffer left the port with us, then took leave and returned to the shore in a small boat. When he left, it was raining while the sun was shining, thus forming a beautiful rainbow. Was it to remind us that life's joys must ever be combined with sorrow, that Divine Providence tenderly watches over us, and that after this storm of persecution, peace would be restored? As we set sail from Rotterdam, we intoned the "Ave Maris Stella," that favorite hymn of Catholic mariners and ocean travelers. All day our vessel sailed along the Dutch coast. Our ship was still without ballast and, therefore, at the mercy of the stormy sea. Soon the pilot and the officer on duty were the only persons on deck. The others had vanished into their cabins to pay their tribute to Neptune, the god of the sea. At dinner two or three Fathers, Eugene Puers, Mark Thienel, and, for a time, Father Isidore Loeser put in their appearance. During the night our vessel lay at anchor at Flushing to take in, on the next day, a Sunday, the necessary supply of coal, besides a large quantity of lead for ballast.

It was the feast of St. Anthony of Padua. Rev. P. Mark Thienel celebrated Holy Mass aboard the ship, and the others received Holy Communion. Though Mr. Janssen, the captain of the "Rotterdam," was not a Catholic, his obliging conduct in providing the Franciscans with a place for religious service, etc., deserves special commendation. Practically the whole steamer had been reserved for the Friars. Amidship, the vacant space had been transformed into a chapel. The altar was adorned with cross, candlesticks, and two paintings of the

Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph. In this chapel we could say or hear Holy Mass, make our confession, receive Holy Communion, and even chant the Divine Office in common, so that the ship seemed transformed into a monastery. Making use of the opportunity ashore, we marched along the scrupulously clean streets of Flushing and entered the Catholic Church, to assist at the last Mass. Several pews were immediately vacated for our convenience. Everywhere we were shown the greatest courtesy and sympathy. Having learned from the press who the visitors were, the townspeople flocked to the wharf that afternoon to show their sympathy.

Soon the "Rotterdam" resumed its voyage, which proved to be an uneventful one and lasted seventeen days. Every day we had the happiness of assisting at Holy Mass and of chanting the Divine Office. One of the Fathers said Mass for the Sisters. Our free time was spent mostly on deck where we beguiled the weary hours by singing hymns in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our Holy Father St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua, etc., to the edification of our fellow-passengers. The voyage was very monotonous and tedious and, for days, interrupted only by the shrill scream of the steam-whistle and the fog-horn, warning other vessels of our approach, cautioning them to be careful, lest the dense fog cause a disastrous collision.

According to the ship's log-book our vessel must have been off the coast of Newfoundland, when the impenetrable fog was rent by a cannon-shot, followed by the ringing of a bell and the sound of a trumpet. All aboard were startled. What could this mean? The ship came to a full stop; thereupon moved slowly in the direction whence the sounds had come. In their excitement all passengers ran to the deck, in order to learn the cause of this unusual occurrence. Presently, alongside our steamer a large fishing smack emerged from the fog; soon a boat was lowered and made for the "Rotterdam." We all expressed the opinion that the craft must be in distress. Happily this proved untrue. The fisherman had perceived our fog-signal and had fired the shot to escape being borne below the waves by our vessel. To show captain Janssen their appreciation for heeding their signals, they offered him a large tub of fresh fish for a present. The captain accepted it and in return ordered some bottles of Bordeaux to be given the fisherman. They flourished their caps in acknowledgment and returned to the fishing smack. Thus ended the solitary adventure of our voyage.

Still, we did not retire that night without anxiety, seeing uncertainty depicted on the faces of the hardy tars, who declared that the fog was an enemy more to be dreaded than a violent storm. Some

of us spent the night in prayer. Imagine our joy, however, when next morning the fog had given place to a beautiful clear sky. A favorable breeze from the north swelled the sails and hurried our vessel along on its southern course. This made it unnecessary to stop a day at Halifax, in order to take in a new supply of coal. The awnings were lowered to protect us from the burning rays of the sun; the hope of soon again walking on *terra firma* animated all aboard with new life and vigor.

Next day, July 1, towards four o'clock P. M., we cast anchor at New York. Being duly examined by a physician, we were immediately allowed to land. I shall not attempt to describe the panorama, which greeted our eyes in the metropolis of the New World. None save those who have experienced it, can form an idea of the throng of sensation which pervade an intelligent immigrant's bosom when he first catches a glimpse of the New World.

After our baggage had been examined, we turned our attention to a lodging-place. Charitable hearts had, however, already provided for us exiles. The Rev. Father Ivo, O. M. Cap., and Franciscan Sisters of Aix-la-Chapelle had come out on a tug and boarded our ship to offer us hospitality. Soon the Redemptorists and Brothers of Mary (Dayton, Ohio) also most kindly tendered their services. But the palm must, undoubtedly, be awarded to little Father Ivo, Guardian of the Capuchin monastery of our Mother of Dolors, Pitt Street, New York City. Seeing us standing at the wharf, not knowing whither to direct our steps, he resolutely stopped several street cars and compelled us like sheep to board them. Suddenly there was a hitch. One car had run off the track. Immediately the resolute guardian was off the car, summoned a few broad-shouldered Brothers to his aid and, ere long, we continued our trip until we alighted at Pitt Street.

We soon perceived that the under-sized Capuchin guardian was a man of indomitable energy. He had aroused the whole parish to prepare food, a lodging, and a hearty welcome for us. At the school-house crowds came and went. They all expressed their sympathy for the victims of the "Kulturkampf" and welcomed us to the shores of the New World, yes, they even drank to the health of Bismark for sending them such immigrants. If the hall below the church eighty-five mattresses, etc., had been spread to afford us a good night's rest.

Fr. Ivo took us to the meeting-place of the Third Order of St. Francis, where an excellent luncheon was served by Franciscan Sisters,

while the school children in the yard made a display of fire-works.⁷ The victuals had been furnished lavishly by bakers, grocers, butchers, etc., so that something was left over for the journey to Teutopolis.

Gradually the time for retiring had come. Despite the extensive preparations only seven or eight friars stayed over night with the kind Father Ivo. Religious communities vied with Father Ivo in offering hospitality, which we could not well refuse. Thus Rev. Father Damasus Ruesing, Master of Novices and some of his charges stayed with the Redemptorists. Another group accepted the invitation of the Christian Brothers, while others went to the Hospital of the Franciscan Sisters. Nor did the people allow themselves to be outdone in kindness by the religious. They considered it a great honor to harbor the exiled sons of the Seraphic Patriarch St. Francis. One person after the other applied to harbor one of those esteemed immigrants. An Israelite said, that he had just refurnished his house; one story was vacant; this he would gladly place at the disposal of the friars. "I am, indeed, an Israelite," he added, "but I gladly do so, because it is a good work."⁸ Finally, Father Ivo emphatically declared that the seven or eight priests remaining must stay with him. We did so and spent a very pleasant evening. Father Ivo introduced us to American life by relating in a dramatic manner some of his experiences.

Great was our astonishment when, next morning, we found a large congregation at Mass and heard the people recite their prayers in German hymns. We felt at home at once.

In the course of the day, we took in the sights of the Metropolitan City of the New World, the good Capuchin Fathers and Brothers most readily offering their services as guides. Pitt Street remained our headquarters. We had agreed to meet there at four o'clock P. M. Thence we were to go in a body to the railroad station, to board a train for the West. So far all had turned out well. But, "Mit des Geschickes Maahten Ist kein ewiger Bund zu flechten."

"What chain so strong, what girth so great,
To bind the giant form of Fate?
Swift are the steps of Woe."

During the day, Reverend Fathers Irenaeus and myself (Father Anselm) had received an invitation from Sr. Vincentia, O. S. Fr., Mother Provincial, to visit the Hospital. We accepted and called at

⁷ July 4th was at hand.

⁸ Fr. Bede Hansen.

the large, splendidly equipped St. Elizabeth Hospital in Fifth Street. Here we found seven of our Confratres, who had lodged there and liked the place so well, as to become oblivious of Pitt Street. We visited the wards and rooms, but were unable to converse much with the patients, as most of them were Irish. But Catholics soon understand each other and one of the Sisters interpreted their wish "to have the Fathers' blessing." We blessed them and they seemed to appreciate it highly. From the roof of the Hospital we had an imposing view of the city and of the ocean.—After dinner, the nine Franciscans got ready to walk to Pitt Street. But the good Sisters prevailed upon us to take the street car to the Depot. They sent along an old veteran inmate, a German, who seems to have known no more English than we, and who was not sure about the way, but trusted the street car conductor. The latter put us off at the first depot we passed. We had to take a ferry-boat to reach the station where we hoped to find our confreres. But far and near none of them were in sight. We attempted to enter the platform for passengers and were turned away. We tried to explain what we wanted; no one understood our language. As it was still an hour before train time, we watched every ferry-boat for our Brethren. We heard the whistle of the train—and gone it was. As the waiting room was almost empty, a German appeared and explained to us that we were at the wrong depot; we should have stayed on the street car much longer. What was to be done? Nothing but to return by the ferry-boat. The fellow-passengers read in our faces that something was wrong. Immediately a crowd of curious people had gathered about us. In vain we attempted to converse. They did not speak German nor did we speak English. Finally two well-dressed gentlemen pressed through the crowd and in broken German inquired about our mishap. We explained what had occurred and desired to be shown the way to Pitt Street. They promised to help us.

When we had once more set foot upon dry land, they beckoned a cabman to draw near and told him a few words in English. The cab-driver was a German, who urged all nine to climb into one cab. No doubt, he wished to realize a snug sum of money. Six found a place inside, two climbed upon the box. Father Anselm made no preparations to get in, though urged by the cabman to do so. "Where are *you* going to sit?" I inquired of the cab-driver. "Well, I shall find a place," he answered. I asked Rev. Father Isidore whether he had agreed on the fare. "No," was the answer. Imagine his surprise, when upon inquiry he learned that the fare would be \$9.00 for a drive of a few blocks.

All jumped off as if stung by an adder. Our driver now came down to half a dollar per person. But I declined and explained, "Behold there the street car that brought us hither; it shall take us back, too." Soon we arrived at the street, crossing Pitt Street. In our eagerness we all walked along in the street instead of using the sidewalk, which unusual action attracted the attention of the people, sitting on the porches in front of the houses, breathing the exhilarating air of the evening. Soon remarks were heard about the "greenhorns," which remarks must have been anything but complimentary, since they were accompanied with a shower of missiles, consisting of stones and rotten vegetables. "Go on the sidewalk!" shouted Father Anselm. The order was obeyed and forthwith the people ceased their mockery and bombarding.

The Capuchins were much surprised at our return. The guardian had accompanied the main body of friars to the railroad station and had not yet returned.

Next morning, July 2, was the Feast of the Visitation of the B. V. M.—Father Anselm, the only priest left behind at Pitt Street, said Holy Mass and the Brothers received Holy Communion. We were again edified by the tastefully decorated church and the singing of the school children. When Father Ivo, O. M. Cap., learned of our wanderings, he expressed his sympathy and reassured us of the safety of our brethren on their westbound journey. Our tickets had been retained by the agent and would be handed to us. As another train left at nine o'clock A. M., he bade us hurry, and Mother Vincentia, with another Hospital Sister, accompanied us to the right station. Father Irenaeus had crossed over to Brooklyn to get our tickets while the agent had gone to New York to bring them to us. They passed each other on the way. It was nearly train time and Rev. Irenaeus was not yet in sight. The signal for the departure for the train was given; it began to pull out when P. Irenaeus arrived and threw himself exhausted on the first seat. Whose hearts were more glad than ours? We all rendered thanks to God by a heartfelt "Deo gratias!"

It was a very fine day as our train sped along the shores of the beautiful Hudson River, often styled the Rhine of America.—Only now did we discover how generously the good Sisters had provided for our every want. As the treasurer of the entire band of exiles was in our coach, the larger division that had gone ahead was practically without money. Luckily Father Eugene Puers, who had been in America before and who was the only member of the party who spoke English, succeeded in borrowing about eighty dollars from a

good-natured fellow-passenger, and thus at Birmingham, New York, some food was procured; likewise at Niagara and Detroit.⁹

As our train entered the many stations that first morning, we heard the ringing of a bell and wondered at the late hour of divine services. When, however, the bell was heard still ringing in the afternoon, the "greenhorns" began to "see." It was the locomotive bell, specifically American, that had deceived us. Towards midnight, the brakeman awakened the passengers and called attention to the roaring of Niagara Falls. Of the Falls themselves, however, we could see nothing owing to the darkness. At the railroad stations of the principal cities, the reporters invaded our coach for an interview. But neither they nor we could understand each other. Still the reporters were not easily daunted. They ran through the coach till they found some German-American whom they employed as an interpreter. Thus they were able to fill a column or two with news.

Sunday afternoon, the agent who had accompanied our confreres to Chicago entered our car to tell us that our brethren, who had been informed of our mishap, were well and, by this time, in the vicinity of Effingham, Illinois. He also advised us to board the night train which would reach that town by four o'clock A. M., where Rev. Michael Weis, pastor of the local church, would have some one meet us and provide for our journey to Teutopolis. This was welcome news, indeed.

At Chicago, we boarded the Illinois Central train. All of our small troupe, especially the younger ones, were tired and their eyes heavy with sleep. We bedded them as comfortably as circumstances permitted and we all sank into a profound, dreamless sleep. At four o'clock A. M., we were aroused by the porter and informed that we had reached Effingham. As we alighted, we noticed that the air was rather warm and sultry. A young man, formerly a student of St. Joseph's College at Teutopolis, met us and conducted us to the residence of the Rev. M. Weis. We were loath to disturb the Reverend gentleman in his nightly repose, as he had been in the confessional till late in the evening and had much work on hand for Sunday. We gladly availed ourselves of his permission to say Holy Mass in his church, but declined that one Father sing the High Mass and the other preach. He informed us that after High Mass, a number of farmers would be at hand to convey us to Teutopolis. So eager were we, however, to rejoin our brethren, that we would hear of no delay. After partaking of an excellent breakfast served by Father Weis's sister Barbara, we at once set out, without the least protection, to

⁹ Thus Rev. Francis Haase, O. F. M.

walk four miles. Before long, we had reason to repent of our folly, and dearly did we pay for our ignorance of the American climate. The heat proved to be intolerable. Never had I experienced such heat before. Soon the perspiration poured down in streams. Our pace slackened; the fatigue became excessive, intolerable. Finally, the Teutopolis church steeple loomed us in the distance. At length we reached the monastery about noon, as the bell from its tower pealed forth the invitation to recite the Angelus. We reached our goal just in the nick of time, since two of us were on the point of being overcome by the heat. Another fifteen minutes would have proved fatal. The Rev. Gerard Becher, Guardian of the monastery, did all in his power to relieve us. The two near exhaustion were forthwith marched to the pump where cold water was poured over their heads. Refreshments were then provided.

But we must not forget to describe the trip of the first and larger division of exiles. On July 1, about 7 o'clock P. M., they had left New York. Their leave-taking was a touching spectacle. Captain Janssen of the Rotterdam and some of his officers had come to wish his passengers Godspeed. The Erie R. R. had offered the exiled Franciscans reduced fare and transported their baggage free of charge to Teutopolis. They were given a special coach¹⁰ which was rather too small for the seventy-five or more passengers it carried to Teutopolis. The Railroad Company even sent an agent with them to see that the car was transferred to the right train. They had journeyed along the Hudson River and in the afternoon had arrived at Niagara Falls. After crossing the suspension bridge, the train backed up to afford the passengers a better view of the gigantic Falls. Passing through Canada and via ferry-boat to Detroit, they came to Chicago where the traces of the recent Great Fire (A. D. 1871) were still visible. From here a despatch was forwarded to Teutopolis announcing their arrival. From Chicago they journeyed via Illinois Central R. R. to Effingham, where the guardian, Rev. Gerard Becher, and the late Mr. F. Washefort received them. Soon after a special train brought the victims of the Kulturkampf to their destination. It was July 3, 1875. At the station, a procession was formed which, amid the ringing of bells wended its way to the church. Here Rev. P. Mathias welcomed them. After Father Gerard had made a brief address to his exiled brethren, Sacramental Benediction followed. This over, all filed into the dining room to do ample justice to the refreshments, starved as they had been during a trip lasting two days and two nights.¹¹ About

¹⁰ Besides the baggage car (Fr. Francis),

¹¹ So far Fr. Anselm in the long letter quoted and written in German.

fifty of the newcomers were sent to lodge at the college which afforded sufficient accommodations, as the students had already departed for their vacation. The novices and some others remained at the monastery which on this memorable occasion was taxed to its utmost capacity. Some confusion had been occasioned as the despatch announcing the arrival of so many confreres had been delayed until their arrival at Chicago. As soon as the message was received at its destination, all hands set to work at once to prepare for the newcomers.¹²

Thus the number of Franciscans in America was increased by sixteen priests, twenty-five clerics, nine novices, eight lay brothers, two novices (brothers), five tertiaries, in all sixty-five religious.¹³ Adding the candidates, about eighty-two or eighty-five¹⁴ persons arrived at Teutopolis on July 3rd, and 4th respectively, 1875. On the latter day, a Sunday, Reverend Augustine McClory, O. F. M., said his first Mass. Rev. Arsenius and Ewald Fahle and the Rev. Damasus Ruesing assisted the neopresbyter. On account of the sweltering heat, the dalmatics used were rendered almost unfit for use by the perspiration. A most violent thunder-storm in the following night afforded some relief from the excessive heat.

The arrival of so many religious enabled the Franciscans at Teutopolis to extend their field of labor. The requests of some of various Bishops for Franciscan Friars could now be granted. A meeting of the Counsellors of the American Mission was held at St. Louis, Missouri, to accept new houses, to assign superiors and to regulate the studies of the clerics.¹⁵ St. Peter's Church, Chicago, whither Rt. Reverend Thomas Foley, D. D., had invited the friars in 1872 was accepted; likewise new parishes in Indianapolis, Indiana, Jordan, Minnesota, and St. Bernard, Nebraska. The students of theology were assigned to the friary in St. Louis, Missouri, those of philosophy to the friary at Quincy, Illinois; the students of the so-called "humaniora," or post-graduate course, remained at the novitiate-house in Teutopolis, whilst the candidates were placed at St. Joseph's College, located in the same town.

On June 4th the following year nine theologians were ordained priests in St. Louis.

In 1879 the American Mission was raised to the dignity of a regular *Province* of the Order under the title of *The Sacred Heart of Jesus*. In 1915, this province had grown so large as to justify the

¹² Fr. Paulinus Tolpodorf—Anselm, etc.

¹³ Cf. Provincial Chronicle, A. D. 1875.

¹⁴ According to others 87 persons—11 (9?) in the second party.

¹⁵ Provincial Chronicle, A. D. 1875.

separation of its houses along the Pacific Coast and their establishment as a *new province* under the title of *Santa Barbara*.

Thus from the mother province of the Holy Cross in Germany, which was disbanded in 1875, there proceeded, directly or indirectly, the two American provinces just mentioned; moreover, two flourishing provinces in Brazil, South America, a separate province in Silesia, in Europe, a well established vicariate in China, and another in the making. Furthermore, the mother province soon regained its former strength and at the present day is the largest province in the Franciscan Order. Verily, to the sons of St. Francis the "Kulturkampf" was a blessing in disguise.

LIST OF EXILES

(Provincial Chronicle, A. D., 1875)

A list of the exiles will be interesting to our readers to whom undoubtedly a number *were* or *are* known.

I. REVEREND FATHERS:

*Eugene Puers, the leader
 *Marcus Thienel
 *Damasus Ruesing, Master of Novices
 *Isidore Loeser
 *Bonaventure Machuy
 *Irenaeus Bierbaum
 *Arsenius Fahle
 *Sebastian Cebulla
 *Desiderius Liss
 *Ewaldus Fahle
 Maternus Mallmann
 *Bede Hansen
 *Anselm Puetz
 *Paul Teroerde
 *Richard van Heek, novice
 *Casimir Vogt, novice

Fulgence Hansen
 *Benno Schaefer
 *Lawrence Eppinger
 *Pacificus Kohnen
 *Henry Muehlstroh
 *James Nolte
 Maurice Baukholt
 *Servatius Rasche
 Stanislaus Kampmann
 Dionysius Schroeder
 Albert Rittner
 *Anastasius Czech
 *Cornelius Schoenwaelder
 *Leo Brandys
 Odoricus Derenthal
 Remigius Goette
 Paulinus Tolksdorf
 Urban Stanowski

II. PROFESSED CLERICS:

Aloysius Hoeren
 *Andrew Butzkueben
 Francis Haase
 *Cyprian Banscheid
 *Cyril Augustinsky
 Engelbert Gey
 *Benignus Schuetz

III. NOVICES (CLERICS):

*Bernard Doebbing (Later Bishop of Nepi and Sutri in Italy)
 *Alphonse or Athanasius Goette (Later Vicar Apostolic in China, at Sianfu, March 29, 1908)

*From Eye-witness. Rev. Huyolinus Storff, etc.

- *Capistran Goette (Chinese Missionary)
 Damianus Koziolk
 Edmund Roediger
 Florentius Kurzer
 Hugolinus Storff (Later held the office of Provincial four times)
 Nicholas Stordeur
 Apollinaris Seibert
 *Clementine Lohrbacher?

IV. PROFESSED LAY BROTHERS:

- *Quirinus Hummels
 Zachary Becher
 Erasmus Hess
 *Diodorus Hebbecker
 Hilarion Iven
 *Benignus Pander
 *Peter Schurgast
 Massaeus Becker

V. NOVICES (LAY BROTHERS):

- Arnoldus Wilms
 Hubert Schneider

VI. TERTIARIES:

- Isidore Tritelski
 Caesar Hunnewinkel
 Andrew
 Vitalis Arnemann
 Zosimus Orlic

VII. CANDIDATES:

- *Paul Schmidt (Fr. Benedict)
 John Jaspers (Fr. Floribert)
 *Henry Reinkemeyer (Fr. Ignatius)
 *Albert Scholz (Fr. Stephan)
 *John Gey (Fr. Isidore)
 Christian Neukirchen (Fr. Leonard)
 Charles Hoelters (Fr. Godfrey)
 *Henry Hilchenbach (Fr. Solanus)
 Anthony Zurbonsen (Secular priest)
 Oswald Rotter — Gerard Buschmann
 Joohn Fahle—Louis Mesek
 Wilhelm Kirchfeldt (Fr. Gaudence)
 and about six more.

A Second Division of Exiled Franciscans Arrived Under the Leadership of the Reverend Vincent Halbfas, O. F. M.

On July 12, 1875, another division of Exiled Friars comprising eleven priests, five clerics, five lay brothers and two tertiaries, i. e., a total of twenty-three arrived, viz.:

I. REVEREND FATHERS:

- *Vincent Halbfas (First Provincial of the S. Heart Province, 1879-1885)
 *Wolfgang Janietz
 *Pancratius Schulte
 *Guido Knepper
 Martin Von Kolke
 *Rufinus Moehle
 *Eusebius Mueller
 Maximilian Neumann
 Hilary Scholz

- *Heribert Mertens
 *Mathias Scholly

II. THE CLERICS (THEOLOGIANs):

- *John Gafron
 *Eustace Vollmer
 *Symphorian Forstmann
 *Marcellinus Bickmann
 *Leonardus Breuer

III. THE LAY BROTHERS:

- *Norbert Doebe
 *Nazarius Schmechta

*From Eye-witness.

Mauritius Kruse

*Onesimus Steinmeyer

*Damianus Bueschgens

IV. THE TERTIARIES:

*Marcus Schaefer

*Dionysius Nacon

Rev. Anselm (Francis) *Puetz, O. F. M.*, was a native of Dueren, Rhineland, Dioc. of Cologne, where he first saw the light on September 1, 1834. He was ordained a priest in September, 1862. For a time he was "Domsaenger" (Singer in the Minster) in Aachen (Aix la Chapelle); for he had a pleasant and powerful voice. In a letter most probably referring to him the Provincial speaks of him as having the finest voice in the Province. On October 6, 1870, he received the garb of St. Francis and the name of Anselm. His description of the journey of the exiled Franciscans in 1875 to America is a graphic one and shows his power of observation and popular German style. After attending for a time to Green Creek, Illinois, and seeking by all means to learn English, he was one of the pioneer Franciscan priests of Platte County, Nebraska, attending St. Mary's from Columbus. He next took Father Lohmann's place at Damiansville, Illinois, for some months of bad weather, malaria, etc., busily engaged comforting the sick and burying the dead. There he laid the foundation for an ailment that afflicted him more or less during life. After laboring in Joliet, Ill., St. Peter's, and St. Augustine's, Chicago, Quincy, Ill., Rhineland, Mo., Cleveland, Ohio, and for several years at Teutopolis, Ill., as assistant pastor and teacher of Plain Chant to the novices, he was sent to St. Joseph's, Cleveland, Ohio, where he labored zealously as assistant and as Director of the Third Order of St. Francis—during ca. 17 years. He passed to his final reward on January 14, 1912. Rt. Rev. Bishop Farrelly sang the Requiem Mass at which many priests and religious, to whom deceased had been a prudent confessor and director, assisted. At Father Anselm's request, there was no funeral sermon. Father Anselm had been a preacher of no mean ability and above all, an excellent religious, edifying all with whom he came in contact. He left reminiscences about many of the places where he had labored as a contribution to the Provincial Chronicle. R. I. P.

EUGENE HAGEDORN, O. F. M.

Teutopolis, Ill.

THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS AT JOLIET, ILLINOIS

Today, the Christian Brothers of Joliet and their students are honoring the memory of St. John Baptist De La Salle, founder of the Order of Christian Brothers, an educational organization, exclusively consecrated to the moral, religious and intellectual training of youth. The Brothers feel that if their institute has achieved a world-wide celebrity, in their chosen field of endeavor, much of the success attending their efforts is due the master-mind, St. John Baptist De La Salle. His pedagogical prescriptions are as efficacious, in the twentieth century, as they were in the seventeenth, when his constructive genius brought into being some of the most useful creations and reforms of modern times. His system for the education of boys and young men has not, after two hundred and forty-five years, been surpassed by the so-called greatest educational reformers. The local high school has been named in honor of the famous Frenchman.

HERE SIX YEARS

Six years have elapsed since the Brothers came to Joliet, to apply the traditional educational principles and theories which they have inherited from their distinguished founder. Already, they are on the eve of erecting a new school building, which promises to be one of the finest and best equipped of its kind. Preparatory work will be undertaken in the near future. The Rev. Brother Lawrence, principal of the school, says that he hopes to see it ready for the 1925-1926 school session, next September, and that when Founder's day, 1926 comes around, the students will be in possession of one of the most beautiful school structures in the city.

At the instance of His Grace, George W. Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, the Christian Brothers assumed the direction of the west side high school, the only one for Catholic boys, in Joliet.

The brothers feel assured that by religiously adhering to the character-forming, mind-developing program laid down for them by St. John Baptist De La Salle, supplemented by the experience of two hundred and fifty years in the class room, they will be able to duplicate the most successful achievements of their co-workers in nearly all of the principal cities of the United States and Canada. Their methods, vitalized by the same spiritual force that enabled St. La Salle to work a veritable transformation in the youth of France,

they are confident, will produce equally gratifying results. A system that has produced in New York and Buffalo such eminent churchmen as Cardinal Mundelein, of Chicago; Cardinal Hayes of New York; Archbishop Dowling, of St. Paul and the late Archbishop Quigley, of Chicago, cannot fail to mold others who will be a credit to their country and the educational methods producing them.

SAINT LA SALLE'S FAMILY TREE

St. John Baptist De La Salle was born in the city of Reims, France, in 1651. During the late World War, that city was the target of Germany's "Big Bertha." Its cathedral, which was an architectural marvel, was badly damaged. De La Salle's forebears were illustrious in church and state.

His ancestors, in the 9th century, were Spaniards, and were among the most noble personages of the kingdom of Spain. Johan Salla was commander-in-chief of the royal forces of King Alfonso. About the middle of the fourteenth century, the younger branch of Salla, or, De La Salle, removed to France. His father was a recognized leader in his profession; he was an able lawyer, of brilliant reputation. St. La Salle was distantly related to Robert La Salle, the explorer, who has left his mark on the early history of our country.

Having been graduated from the University of Reims with distinction, he pursued his theological studies in the renowned Seminary of Saint Sulpice, Paris. After his ordination to the priesthood, he won the degree of doctor of divinity.

ESTABLISHMENT OF TEACHING ORDER

Thru a series of seemingly fortuitous circumstances, but, in reality, Providentially designed for the creation of a new teaching order, in the Catholic church, in France, in a few years, La Salle found himself directing a small body of teachers, the nucleus of the present institution, known as the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian schools.

For forty years he presided over its destinies, which were frequently threatened with disaster by various hostile representatives of both church and state. At his death, in 1719, his work was almost universally recognized as most useful to society, and especially, to the sons of the common people of France. Since then, it has grown to be one of the most numerous of the teaching bodies in the Catholic church. It has become world-wide and all-embracing, geographically and racially. All hands know the Christian Brothers, whose pupils

include almost every nationality under the sun. Coming to the United States, about 80 years ago, at the request of Archbishop Hughes of New York, the first American foundation has branched out to almost all the principal cities of the United States and Canada. It is not at all improbable that within the next few years, expansion of the Christian Brothers' educational activities will take place in the great Middle West.

Two high schools are in contemplation by Chicago priests, who are desirous of entrusting them to St. La Salle's religious teachers. An experience of six years in Joliet has made the Christian Brothers of De La Salle high school optimistic and hopeful of results in the education of their students that Saint De La Salle had in view, when he founded his order of teachers, two centuries and a half ago.

A CHRISTIAN BROTHER.

Joliet Ill.

AN HISTORIC COURT DECISION

On June 1, 1925, Mr. Justice James Clark McReynolds of the Supreme Court of the United States delivered an opinion which was concurred in by all the members of the court holding invalid the act passed by the Oregon legislature to compel all children in the state between 8 and 16 years of age to attend the public school.

For the purpose of an historical record perhaps the best presentation decision and its public reaction is contained in *The Literary Digest* of June 13, 1925 which we quote:

The right of fathers and mothers to have a voice in the education of their children is established by the United States Supreme Court when it declares void the famous "Oregon School Law," which sought to compel the attendance of children in public schools to the exclusion of private or parochial schools. "The child is not the mere creature of the State," avers Mr. Justice McReynolds, in writing a history-making decision which has the unanimous concurrence of his fellow Justices. "A new *Magna Charta* for the integrity of family life," "a decision against tyranny," "a triumph for the rights of minorities," "a victory for freedom of education," "a crushing defeat for bigotry," "a bulwark against the tyranny of the majority"—these are some of the characterizations of this decision by such representative dailies as the *Newark News*, *Brooklyn Eagle*, *Portland Oregonian*, *New York Herald, Tribune and World*, and *Boston Herald*. Other papers, quoted at the end of this article, comment on the relation between this Oregon case, now settled, and the even more famous anti-evolution case now pending in Dayton, Tennessee.

Before quoting the decision and further press characterizations of it, it may be of value to our readers to present briefly the salient facts leading up to the Supreme Court's action. In 1922, when the influence of the Ku Klux Klan in Oregon politics was apparently at its peak, the Oregon School Law was passed, not by the Legislature, but by a vote of the people. The voting was 115,506 to 103,685, which means that the new law won by a margin of less than 12,000 in a total vote of nearly 220,000. Like most States, Oregon already had a compulsory education law. But the new statute went much further, decreeing that after September 1, 1926, all normal children in the State between the ages of eight and sixteen (with a few specified exceptions) would be compelled to attend "public" schools. Exempted from this law were: children physically unable to attend school;

children who had completed the eighth grade; children living too far from a school; and children receiving adequate private instruction in the home. With these exceptions, the law decreed that—

“Any parent, guardian or other person in the State of Oregon, having control or charge or custody of a child under the age of sixteen years and of the age of eight years or over, at the commencement of a term of public school of the district in which said child resides, who shall fail or neglect or refuse to send such child to a public school for the period of time a public school shall be held during the current year in said district, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and each day's failure to send such child to a public school shall constitute a separate offense.”

Failure on the part of parent or guardian to obey this law was to be punished by “a fine of not less than \$5 nor more than \$100, or imprisonment in the county jail for not less than two or more than thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.” It was immediately evident that this law would put out of business all private and parochial schools in Oregon. Moreover, there were signs that other States were preparing to follow Oregon's lead. It was therefore challenged in the courts by The Society of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, in behalf of the parochial schools, and by the Hill Military Academy. The Protestant Episcopal Church, the Seventh Day Adventists and the American Jewish Committee each filed a brief in support of the position taken by the parochial and private schools. In April, 1924, the plaintiffs won their case in the Federal District Court, sitting in Portland, which declared the law unconstitutional. In behalf of the State, Governor Walter M. Pierce carried the case to the United States Supreme Court, which now sustains the decision of the lower court.

The Supreme Court's opinion in the case, handed down on June 1, was written by Mr. Justice McReynolds, and is unanimous. The opinion says in part:

“No question is raised concerning the power of the State reasonably to regulate all schools, to inspect, supervise and examine them, their teachers and their pupils; to require that all children of proper age attend some school, that teachers shall be of good moral character and patriotic disposition, that certain studies plainly essential to good citizenship must be taught, and that nothing be taught which is manifestly inimical to the public welfare.

“The inevitable practical result of enforcing the act under consideration would be destruction of appellees' primary schools, and perhaps all other private primary schools for normal children within the State of Oregon.

“Under the doctrine of *Meyer versus Nebraska*, 262 U. S. 390 (German language case), we think it entirely plain that the act of 1922 unreasonably interferes with the liberty of parents and guardians to direct the upbringing and education of children under their control. As often heretofore pointed out, rights guaranteed by the Constitution may not be abridged by legislation which has no reasonable relation to some purpose within the competency of the State.

“The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all Governments in this Union repose, excludes any general power of the State to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the State; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations.”

The First Amendment of the Constitution, the *Washington Star* reminds us, provides that “Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of a religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press”; and the *Washington* paper goes on to explain the relation of this Amendment to the present decision:

“It does not specifically restrict the right of the State to pass such acts as may be construed as establishing a religion or prohibiting its free exercise, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. It has, however, been contended and maintained that in these respects a State can not do what the United States can not do. In the present decision on the Oregon law the Supreme Court sets aside a State statute because it is a deprivation of property without due process of law and because it is an interference with the free choice of parents and guardians in the education of their children by reputable teachers.”

For comment friendly to this deceased law *The Digest* telegraphed to Governor Pierce, to *The Western American*, a Klan paper published in Portland, and to several other Klan organs in other States. Our only replies to these telegrams up to the time of going to press were a wire from the headquarters of the Oregon Klan informing us that *The Western American* had ceased publication on April 1, and the following telegram from the Governor:

“The friends of the Oregon School Law are American citizens, firm believers in the underlying principles of the American Government. We bow to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is too early yet to predict what further effort will be made to preserve the American public school system which many of us regard as the bulwark of American ideals.”

In further explanation of the point of view reflected in the Oregon School Law, we quote the *New York Herald Tribune*:

“Summarized, Oregon’s argument in the courts was that the national Government was founded upon the theory that Church and State should be maintained separate, a principle to be closely guarded in the education of its youth; that the right of a State to control a minor when public welfare required had been thoroughly established in the courts and included control over their education, that private and parochial schools are not superior to public schools, therefore the new law would not deprive them of any rights or privileges or subject them to any disadvantages; that the opposition came from those who wanted children given sectarian religious instruction.”

The press comment that has reached this office seems to be all in approval of the Supreme Court’s decision. “It is a wise decision,” remarks the Portland *Oregonian*, which continues:

“The theories of liberty proclaimed in the Constitution are there to protect, primarily, the minorities. The majority can readily take care of itself. Without doubt a majority of the people of Oregon believe now that the public school is best for their children, best for all children. But it is not their right to impose their opinions upon those parents who do not believe it so.

“As said, this decision is by the final legal authority in the land. It is a wise decision. It is one that should have been foreseen by the framers of the bill as it was foreseen by many, including this newspaper, who opposed the law. There is nothing we know of that those who adhere to its principles can now do about it. No like law can be enforced without amendment of the national Constitution, a process difficult to accomplish at any time and one in this instance that, if attempted, would promote destructive bitterness and, if successful, encroach upon guaranties which in the larger sense are of those rights which the founders of our independence declared to be unalienable.”

The Supreme Court “has erected a fresh and strong bulwark for parental and personal rights” and at the same time has “dealt a staggering blow at the current inclination of hysterical States to trespass upon and outrage the rights of individual Americans,” declares the *Syracuse Herald*. Says the *Newark News*, which heartily applauds the court’s position:

“The decision stakes out the limit to which State authorities may go in education. They may prescribe a minimum standard of education to which private schools must conform, together with moral and intellectual standards for teachers, but may not interfere with training supplemental to this which does not conflict with morality or teach doctrines subversive of Government.”

The decision “will be accepted as sound Americanism,” thinks the *Manchester Union*. It is “a victory for liberty and tolerance,” declares the *Boston Transcript*; and in the *Brooklyn Eagle* we read:

“Whatever the influences behind it, the Oregon school law was a startling adventure in bigotry and intolerance. It denied rights to parents and privileges to children. Certainly at a time when so many Protestant thinkers are coming to agree with Roman Catholic thinkers that religion in schools is a vital matter in the making of good citizens, any plan to deny to the parent the right of choosing schools where religious teaching is practicable is basically unjust, basically wrong.”

But while “the victory in the Supreme Court over the Oregon School Law is excellent,” remarks the *New York World*, “there will follow the Tennessee case.” Between the Oregon and Tennessee cases there are important legal distinctions, but both cases involved questions of minority rights and freedom of thought. As an Oregon paper, the *Portland Journal*, asks:

“If a State may not lawfully ordain that children of certain ages must attend public schools and not other, how can it ordain what branches of study they may not pursue?”

EDITORIAL COMMENT

A Slight Misunderstanding.—We published last quarter a paper relating to the Jesuit missionaries in the Illinois Country and indulged in some criticisms of numerous statements made by the author. Incidentally we mentioned that the paper was read before the Illinois Historical Society without intending to infer in any way that that worthy organization was responsible for the contents of the paper. It is due the Illinois Historical Society to state that we did not have the permission of that body to publish the paper, although the editor understood that such permission had been given. Our humble apologies are presented that organization, which we are pleased to be able to state has always been eminently fair, and indeed has been a model for historical organizations throughout its history, but especially under its present organization and management. This incident affords us an opportunity to acknowledge countless courtesies and favors granted by the Society to the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW and to the editor.

History in the Making.—We are certainly living in historic times. Open the geography and note the rapid changes in the map of the world. Think of business or trade relations and observe the most stupendous dealings ever known. Consider national and international relations and note the heretofore unparalleled tension. Take the question of prohibition: Several countries have adopted prohibition laws and the same have been roundly denounced but the prohibition movement goes merrily on. On the surface, at least crime seems to be rampant and never, it seems, was human life held so cheap. All the time, it is noticeable, religion is held in contempt and ridiculed to a greater degree than has been known since a large part of the world accepted Christianity. The bloodless conflict between "evolutionists" and "fundamentalists" has to all appearances paralyzed non-Catholic church organizations. The prospect would be appalling indeed were it not for one redeeming circumstance, namely, the steady growth in numbers and fervor of the Catholic Church. This strengthening is noticeable throughout the world, and the movement has attracted the leading minds of the time, lending force to the conviction that the Catholic Church not only offers the formula for salvation but that Catholic philosophy furnishes the solution for satisfactory private and public relations.

Saints in Our Day.—The month of June, 1925, has been made memorable in the history of the Church by reason of the rites and ceremonies which placed in the Church's calendar several saints and the names of several others declared blessed. That sainthood comes close to our day as well as existing in the past is proven by the canonization of Sister Theresa, the Carmelite nun known as the "Little Flower." The world over this holy young woman is venerated and non-Catholics vie with members of the Church in their devotion to her. Another of the names added to the Church Calendar is Peter Canisius, that of the second apostle of Germany and the leader of the defense against the "Reformation." We Americans are greatly interested in the beatification of eight workers in the American missions, declared blessed on June 21, 1925.

These holy men were: Fathers Isaac Jogues, John de Brebeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Noel Chabanel, Anthony Daniel, Charles Garnier and two laymen, Rene Goupel and John Lalonde, all Jesuits. Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., has published a most timely account of the lives and labors of these holy men under the title, "The Jesuit Martyrs of North America." These life stories are excelled in interest only by the stories of the martyr deaths of the Holy victims. In his preface Father Wynne truthfully says: "Neither myth nor legend is needed by our country for the heroic story with which every people loves to immortalize its origins. Our earliest history is one of heroes who achieved their wonders not by physical powers merely, but by moral grandeur. Their most wonderful achievement is the incomparable devotion with which they, all men of exquisite culture and refinement, labored among human beings who had fallen from man's high estate into the depths of barbarism and depravity. In common with all heroes they were animated by the noblest passions; but they excelled in love, the greatest of all. They excelled also in the objects of their love, entirely devoid as it was of selfishness, and centered purely on the highest things, on God and on human souls. They are the heroes of the invisible, the spiritual, the supernatural; and these by word and work, they bring visibly before our weaker vision." Part of a paragraph from Chapter II of Father Wynne's most interesting book makes clear the object of the missionaries: "The sole object of these intrepid missionaries was the conversion of the savages who occupied these countries, principally the Hurons, Petuns, Neuters, Algonquins and Iroquois. Never did mortal men work so persistently, nor with such optimism amid every form of privation, obstacle, hardship, danger and reason for discouragement. Only for testimony which inspires conviction, what they endured would be incredible. Like giants they stand out even among their own heroic associates. Their savage tormentors ate the hearts and drank the blood of Lalemant and Brebeuf, hoping to partake of their courage and endurance." Every page of the "Jesuit Martyrs of North America" is alive with interest and the book is an extremely valuable addition to historical lore and the literature of the Church. It is published by the Universal Knowledge Foundation, 119 East 57th Street, New York, and sells for \$1.50, postpaid. All our readers should own and read this book, the record of the first men in North America to be enrolled in the Calendar of the Blessed.

ADVANCE IMPRESSION OF THE TENNESSEE EVOLUTION CASE

Luther Burbank who ridicules the doctrine of original sin has taken issue with Bryan on evolution and says that the nation which denies evolution is doomed. Bryan, on the contrary, maintains that materialistic evolution, as taught in our state schools, is a menace to the national life.

He says that it is opposed to the teaching of the Bible, the inspired word of God. It is; and it is also contrary to natural reason. Hence, Catholics must side with Bryan rather than Burbank.

Bryan, errs, if, as seems to be the case, he thinks the words of Genesis, 2-7, "And the Lord God formed man of the slime of the earth: and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul," can in no way be reconciled with the theory of evolution as applied to the body of Adam, our first parent. If God formed the body of Adam out of the earth mediately rather than immediately, this is, by an evolutionary process, the text would still be true and the inspiration of the Bible would not be called into question.

However, Bryan is right when he says that Genesis does not permit us to hold that man, as a unit, consisting of a spiritual soul as well as a body, "has descended from a lower order of animal." Adam's soul was formed immediately by the creative act of God. Since it was made out of nothing, that is, with no pre-existing matter, the evolution of matter is plainly excluded not only by Holy Writ, but by natural reason.

Materialistic evolution makes no distinction between the soul and body and is therefore false. Man is placed on the same plane as the brute animal.

This kind of evolution denies the existence of God, the spirituality and immortality of the soul, the freedom of the will, and therefore, man's responsibility for his actions. It is subversive of morality and undermines the foundation of the state.

The state of Tennessee is not meddling with questions purely religious or theological in passing an anti-evolution law. The legislature is simply asserting the right to curb academic license, wearing the garb of freedom, so as to protect the faith and morals of its children.

Several years ago the writer, in sounding a warning against two university professors in the state of Wisconsin who were teaching

irreligion and the criminal limitation of offspring, told the tax payers of Wisconsin that they had the right and the duty of keeping freedom within due bonds and of making it respect the unchangeable moral law—aye, if necessary, of driving from the halls of the state university those educators whose salaries they were paying and who were corrupting the faith and morals of their sons and daughters.

Acting on this principle, the writer dismissed a medical professor in Marquette University who taught therapeutic abortion. Exposing the sophistry that sought to make the question one of “dogma” or religion or theology, thereby stirring up religious prejudice, the writer showed that the question at issue was an ethical one, that the commandment, “Thou shalt not kill,” was involved, and that academic freedom degenerates into academic license if it fails to respect the ten commandments.

If a state legislature can forbid the teaching of murder, blasphemy, atheism, or perjury in state schools, it can and should interdict the teaching of materialism and irreligion in the guise of materialistic evolution. Without detriment to the prior rights of individuals and families, the state can, in self-defense, take measures to attain its own end and, in consequence, has the right to outlaw those teachings that would make the attainment of its God-given end impossible.

Although Bryan has made mistakes in regard to prohibition and pacifism and kindred questions, he is, nevertheless, in the main, right on this question and should have the approval and support of all right minded citizens of our country. It is high time for those who send their sons and daughters to state schools to take a stand on academic freedom and bid it cease its immoral attacks on religion, natural and revealed, and bear in mind that the ten commandments, expressing God’s immutable law, are not to be treated as debatable questions concerning which professors may give their arguments pro and con and tell the students to decide as they would on the relative merits of General Grant and General Robert E. Lee.

HERBERT C. NOONAN, S. J.

Chicago.

NEW GUARDIAN ANGEL ORPHANAGE FOR ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO

Ground for the new Guardian Angel Orphans' home on Plainfield road was broken April 27, 1925 amid elaborate ceremonies before a gathering of nearly 500 persons.

The first shovel of dirt for the new orphanage, which will be located at Five Corners on the Plainfield road, was turned by the Rev. Francis E. Scanlan, pastor of St. Raymond's Catholic church, who gave a brief address explaining the plans, which provide for a model orphanage.

PARADE IS HELD

An automobile parade from the present Guardian Angel home, on Center street, was staged, the De La Salle high school band, leading the parade, which was accompanied by an escort of honor consisting of motorcycle policemen.

Children in the orphanage were originally scheduled to march to the site of the new home, but owing to the unseasonable weather that portion of the program was eliminated.

Catholic clergy of Will and Grundy counties attended the ground breaking ceremony, as did representatives from The Sisters of St. Francis, sponsors of the new building. Many members of Catholic churches in Joliet also attended, swelling the gathering to approximately 500 persons.

EXPLAINS BUILDING PLANS

The Rev. Fr. Scanlan, in his address dwelt on the style or architecture of the new building, and explained that it will be strictly fireproof throughout, practically arranged and modern in every respect.

Construction of the building, which will be colonial in style, four stories throughout, is expected to consume 10 or 12 months, present plans calling for formal dedication in the summer of 1926. The Sisters of St. Francis, sponsors of the new building, have had plans prepared by the E. Brielmaier & Sons company, Chicago and Milwaukee architects, with excavation contracts let to Thomas Dillon of Joliet.

MAIN BUILDING LARGE

Main building dimensions will be 58x198 feet, with two end wings, each 31x42 feet, extending forward.

The plans call for a strictly fireproof building throughout practically arranged and modern in every respect. There have been incorporated into the building many ideas which are new in the planning of orphanages and it is expected to make this a model institution of its kind, second to none of its size in the country. Special thought has been given to the safety of the children by allowing for spacious corridors extending full length of building, with inside fire enclosed stairways at ends. The building will contain an electric push button elevator. The frame work, or so-called skeleton, will be reinforced concrete and enclosed with brick and tile wall. The exterior will be faced with rough texture vitrified brick, trimmed with Bedford stone. The roof also will be fireproof.

The ground floor will contain to the front of main corridor extending lengthwise with the building separate play rooms for boys and girls, with locker rooms alongside, also music rooms, dressing, shower and bath rooms. To the rear of main corridor will be located separate girls' and boys' dining rooms. Sisters' dining room, general kitchen, pantries, etc., with storage and cellars in a basement provided underneath this portion of building.

The first floor provides for main entrance lobby and waiting room, with general and private office and portress room to one side, and reception room and guests' dining room opposite. One wing will be devoted to the sleeping and living quarters for the sisters, and the opposite wing to chaplain's suite and guests' dining and sleeping rooms. To the rear of main corridor are boys' and girls' dormitories with baths directly adjoining and connected. This floor also contains kindergarten, dining room and serving kitchen for small children. This places the little ones in a separate department by themselves an away from the older boys and girls.

FIRE ENCLOSED STAIRWAYS

The second floor to the front of main corridor contains class rooms, study halls with lockers adjoining, as well as visiting boys' and girls' sleeping rooms. To the rear of main corridor there will be the main fire enclosed stairways which extend the full height of the building, the boys' and girls' general toilets and wash rooms, also an infirmary and isolation department complete in every regard to give

aid and comfort to any of the children taken sick, also there is a good sized sewing room.

The third floor contains boys' and girls' dormitories with toilets adjoining, as well as rooms between dormitories for the use of the sister in charge and locker rooms. This floor will also contain a department for the infants, taking in a cradle room and infants' dormitory, utility room, linen room, and bath and room for the sister in charge. A temporary chapel will be located on this third floor to be used until such time as a permanent one can be built.

All floors of the building will be provided with porches for the use of the children and airing purposes. Provisions are made throughout for linen closets, broom and pail closets, utility corridors to conceal plumbing pipes but still leave them accessible, private and public telephones, fire alarm and program bells.

SPECIAL VENTILATING SYSTEM

The finish throughout will be of the best material, the corridor floors, stairs, baths, etc., to have terrazzo floor and base, as well as window sills, bath partitions of terrazzo with terrazzo wainscot back of all plumbing fixtures to protect the walls, floors in class rooms, study halls, sleeping rooms, etc., all hard wood, and wood trim and doors of oak. Provisions are also made for a first class ventilating system to insure ample fresh air in the building. The building at present is arranged to accommodate 150 children, but so planned to allow for additional wings to house an equal number, or a total capacity of 300.

In addition to this building there will be a separate boiler house and laundry building, containing besides these rooms work shop and helps' quarters. This building will be in an "L" shape, the main part being 34 feet by 62 feet, basement and two stories, with a wing 31 feet by 38 feet, the latter to be one story only and to contain heating plant. This boiler house will be connected to the main building by underground tunnel to allow for passing back and forth during the winter months, as well as to contain heating mains.

JOLIET EVENING HERALD.

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CONTENTS

POPE'S BLESSING AND PLENARY INDULGENCE . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
ILLINOIS' FIRST CITIZEN — PIERRE GIBAUT	<i>Joseph J. Thompson 99</i>
THE TRAPPISTS OF MONK'S MOUND	<i>Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J. 106</i>
HISTORY IN THE PRESS	137
FIFTY YEARS IN HOSPITAL SERVICE	<i>Rev. A. Zurbonsen 143</i>
OLD ST. PATRICK'S OF JOLIET RAZED	<i>Joliet Herald Press 158</i>
GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY SYSTEMS	<i>W. W. Baldwin 159</i>
GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS	<i>William Stetson Merrill 176</i>
MISCELLANY	184

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ILLINOIS' FIRST CITIZEN, PIERRE GIBAUT

(Continued from July, 1925)

LAST STRENUOUS YEARS

At long last, less through choice than necessity, and as a veteran approaching the end of his temporal career, Father Gibault yields to the entreaties of the Spanish jurisdiction, leaves the country of his adoption, the field in which he has labored for twenty-four years, the domain in which he scored not only numerous spiritual successes, but great temporal ones as well, all of which, however, remained apparently unappreciated, and takes up his career anew, not indeed in a new field because out of his charity he has labored in it repeatedly before, but under a new spiritual jurisdiction.

Here we are to follow him through a service of twelve years, and even at this period of his career will be able to find that there were those who would find fault, not indeed with his personal behavior, as was the case with some of the scandal mongers on the other side of the river, but with his charity and generosity, which in some cases was assumed to be detrimental to what might be called the business administration of the jurisdiction.

If the career of this distinguished priest is but poorly traced in the available records during the period of his labors in the Illinois country proper, it is infinitely more obscure from the time he removed to the Spanish or Missouri side. Indeed, had it not been for the splendid letters written by him and the answers thereto, and the appearance of his firm, clear handwriting in every register of church proceedings kept during the period of his activity throughout all Mid-America, this all too brief account of his life could never be written.

A standing certificate of character for the tireless priest may be read in the church registers of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, Vincennes, Mackinac, Detroit, St. Genevieve and New Madrid, in all of which places he ministered frequently; nor do these by any means cover all the points where he labored for the salvation of souls. Some day some society or some man of means will do a great service to his own and succeeding generations by compiling all the entries extant made in the numerous church records throughout Mid-America in the handwriting of Pierre Gibault, and when that is done the publication will demonstrate a life of complete devotion to God's service.

In this last re-location Father Gibault severs finally and completely all his connection with both French and American jurisdictions, and at last yields to the necessity of taking the Spanish oath of citizenship. For years he has held out against this transfer of civil allegiance. It will be remembered that he lived on the Spanish side for a number of years, but held himself as pastor of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia, on the Illinois side, ministering in St. Genevieve only as an emergency representative, acting by request of the actual Spanish representative of the Church.

Now he takes the oath of civil allegiance and, whereas, he has held the title of vicar general on the Illinois side for a period of at least twenty years, he now lays down that distinction, and becomes subject to the vicar general of another bishop.

An able investigator and a devout Catholic priest, the Reverend John Rothensteiner, of St. Louis, has lately published in the columns of the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, his own study of Father Gibault's activities after coming into Missouri, and until the time of his death, and because we appreciate this recent study, as well as entertaining a desire that the reader may have another view of the distinguished subject of this volume, we quote at length from Father Rothensteiner's paper:

"Pierre Gibault was called to New Madrid, where he received the appointment as pastor of the parish church of Saint Isidore in 1793. But Gibault's spiritual labors in New Madrid began much sooner, probably in 1789, when he left Cahokia. This parish of New Madrid included the dependencies of Arkansas Post and Little Prairie, which latter village was founded by François Le Sieur, in 1797, whilst Arkansas Post dates back to the days of Saint Cosme and his companions. Father Gibault administered the sacraments of the church in Arkansas Post as early as October 8, 1792, and signed himself as 'Cure de la Nouvelle Madrid,' parish priest-elect of New Madrid, that is, his election was not as yet confirmed by episcopal authority. But on July 11, 1793, he first signs an entry of marriage, 'P. Gibault

per nous Pretre, Cure de la Nouvelle Madrid.' From this it follows that Father Gibault attended New Madrid and its dependencies since his departure from Cahokia in 1791, and became the first canonical pastor of New Madrid in 1793.

The immediate reason for Father Gibault's change to the Spanish jurisdiction and civil allegiance is to be sought in the two facts that he was no longer welcome in the diocese of Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, whose claim to all the territory of the United States was now acknowledged, and that he was not allowed to return to his home in Canada on account of his political activities in Kaskaskia and Vincennes. An offer from Catholic Spain was therefore most acceptable, especially as he knew the various older French settlements on the Spanish side of the river. It is certain that Father Gibault took the oath of allegiance to His Most Christian Majesty and that he attained some real successes in his new field of labor.

Spiritually, he was now under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Louisiana and Florida, represented in Upper Louisiana by the Vicar General James Maxwell, residing in Ste. Genevieve. As pastor he received a salary of 600 dollars from the government, in addition to the perquisites which were fixed by royal ordinance. He succeeded in 1799 to obtain the consent of his parishioners as well as of the intendant Morales to build a church in New Madrid, dedicated to St. Isidore. The church was an edifice of 60 feet long, 28 feet wide and 16 feet high between ground and ceiling. 'The Carpenter work,' says the report of the commissioners, 'is constructed of cypress timber, covered on the outside with planks of the same wood. It has a partition in the width for the sacristy, ten openings with their windows and gratings, an altar with tabernacle of cherry-wood, a picture of the Holy Virgin Mary eight feet by five and one-half feet wide, framed in wood, a belfry with a metal bell weighing fifty pounds,' which was estimated to be worth 1200 pesos. The parish residence was a building 21 feet by 16 feet wide, rather small according to modern ideas of comfort. It was, as Houck tells us, doubled without and within with cypress planks, the floor and ceiling and a partition wall of cypress planks, a double brick chimney, four openings with their windows and doors and gratings, a gallery in front, with floors and ceilings, a cellar under said house, and a stairway to mount the garret. In addition to this parish residence was a kitchen 18 feet long by 15 feet wide and also a bake house 15 feet long and 10 feet wide and over 30 feet in circumference, with frames complete, made of brick, and a roof of carpenter work, and this bake house was equipped with all the utensils necessary for baking, all valued at 120 pesos.

In this parochial residence, surrounded by a large garden, Father Gibault lived in ease and comfort with his colored servants well able to entertain the Vicar-General of Upper Louisiana, Father Maxwell, who would occasionally ride down from Ste. Genevieve for a brief visit, unless he himself were absent on a more or less laborious journey to his stations along the river as far as Arkansas Post to the South and Tywappity Bottom to the North. As Stoddard in his *Louisiana*

informs us, the expense of building and furnishing the church was paid by the Government, although Father Maxwell insists that the well-to-do inhabitants are obliged under the laws of the Kingdom to contribute to the construction of the church.

It was a subscription sufficiently meagre as we can judge from Francisco Miranda's Report on the church furnishings he found in St. Isidore's church at New Madrid in 1805, as recorded by Houck in his *Spanish Regime in Missouri*. Mr. Houck gives the substance of a few official letters written by Maxwell to Gibault, saying that it appears from them that the Parish Priest of New Madrid and its dependencies was altogether too lenient in the matter of demanding the usual offerings for the dispensations granted, especially from the proclamation of the bans, to which fees the Vicar General, or rather his Chancery, was entitled. 'In one letter,' writes Houck, 'dated October 1801, which has been preserved in the New Madrid Archives, Father Maxwell severely reprimanded him for performing a ceremony between a Mr. Randall and Miss Sara Waller, the latter being a minor, without the consent of her father and mother, both being residents of the Cape Girardeau district,' that is within Father Maxwell's own parish limits. From this it is evident that Father Gibault was still among the living, and, at that, in New Madrid, at the close of 1801, although not in very excellent standing with his spiritual superiors. This seems to be the last documentary trace we have about the storm-tossed man and servant of Holy Church. John Gilmary Shea, in his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, says that both Fathers John Olivier and Gabriel Richard had written to Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, that Father Pierre Gibault, one time Vicar General of the Bishop of Quebec in the Illinois country, had died at New Madrid in 1804. These letters are said to be in the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. There are some who say that Gibault returned to Canada after 1801 or 1802, and died there probably in 1804. But this point remains doubtful. The transfer of Louisiana and with it of New Madrid, to the United States, was consummated by Laussat in behalf of France, on December 29, 1803. It may be that Father Gibault did not live to see the great change, in the preparation of which he had been such an important actor in his Kaskaskia days under General George Rogers Clark. It is even doubtful whether he would have welcomed the change to American sovereignty of what had once been the proud possession of his own race. In any case it must be remembered that Father Gibault was first and all the time an humble, laborious and enthusiastic servant of God's Kingdom, the church, and that his chief business was not empire building, but the salvation of souls. Indeed, he had in himself but little of the warrior-patriot, as some have lovingly described him. It was through circumstances over which he had no control, but whose control he readily accepted, that this simple priest and missionary was elevated to the exalted position of one of the three founders of the Republic in the West."

Father Rothensteiner has no doubt said the last word on Father Gibault's career as a priest of the Spanish diocese on the West side of the Mississippi and subject to Vicar General James Maxwell. From his account we are able to see that the good priest took up again the missionary trail, which led him as far as the Arkansas Post. By this time he was a veteran in the field, and no doubt carried blessings with him into this Southern field, as he did to every locality visited in his long and active career. Father Rothensteiner's estimate of his character and his view of the disparagements against him are interesting, in the light of extended investigation. Upon these considerations Father Rothensteiner says:

"As to the character of Father Gibault, especially as to the virtue of fortitude, there were some ugly rumors afloat, in fact, Vicar General Maxwell in a letter still preserved in the New Madrid archives, threatens to report these rumors to the authorities at New Orleans. Bishop Carroll, also, makes some shadowy complaint as to the missionary's conduct, and says that the authorities at Quebec no longer entertained the high regard for Father Gibault they had of him during his early days. What little cause there was for these vague accusations we can gather best from his own noble defense of his career made in his letter to Bishop Hubert of Quebec, dated at Post Vincennes, June 6, 1786. Father Gibault may at times have given way to his natural spirit of independence, especially in his relations with Father Maxwell, his superior in later life, a failing that must not weigh so very heavy in one who had lived so many years on his own intellectual and moral resources, far away from his immediate superior, the Bishop of Quebec. Then he may not always have shown a puritanical aversion to strong drink, although the good Father himself indignantly denies the charge of dissipation. It is easy to find a flaw in a man whose whole life was an open book. But whoever reads the noble, pathetic letter referred to above, must come to the conclusion that the charges were but idle gossip of people who either hated him for his virtues or sought comfort in drawing down others to their own level. One of the worst offenders in this regard was the commandant of Ste. Genevieve, François Valle, a man whose many good qualities Father Gibault is happy to extoll, but who, like so many another Frenchman, would rather lose his friend than his joke."

Finally, Father Rothensteiner expresses these conclusions:

"We really cannot find any indications of a timid soul in this, and surely Clark did not really believe it. No doubt Father Gibault was at the time thinking out a plan to save himself and his people from destruction, without violating the principles of honor ever dear to his heart. Father Gibault was always and above all things a priest of the church, and his highest and all pervading motive was the winning of souls to Christ. For this he had left his pleasant home—Canada; for this he had exiled himself to the utter desolation

of the Illinois Missions, where a senseless persecution had left but miserable remnants of their former glories. The Catholic people, both Indians and Creoles, were the sole object of the young missionary's love and zeal. To save what could be saved from the spiritual ruin of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Ste. Genevieve, Vincennes, St. Joseph on Lake Michigan, Post of Arkansas, and at last New Madrid; this was his life work. Meek and humble he was, but never timid."

Such was the humble and holy man of God, Pierre Gibault. Of one so devoted; one so often, though without his procurement, in the public eye; one who served so faithfully and so extensively, it is reasonable to suppose much would be known and remembered, but strange as it may appear even the time and place of his death is unknown.

And as if nature conspired with history, the very settlement adopted by him as a headquarters for his activities, Kaskaskia, was swallowed up by the Mississippi River, and scarce a vestige of the one time metropolis of Mid-America escaped the ravages of the floods.

It has been repeatedly asserted that Father Gibault died in New Madrid, Missouri, in the year 1804. In that year the former Spanish possessions, after having been owned by the French for a time, became the property of the United States, through the well-known Louisiana purchase from Napoleon. Father Gibault may have lived to become once more a resident of the domain of the United States. Father Rothensteiner calls attention to one incident that his friends would be glad to credit. He says:

"The year of the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, 1803, threatened to bring disaster to the church in Louisiana. Bishop Penalver had retired to Guatamala and of the twenty-six priests stationed in all Louisiana, North and South, only four agreed to stay at their posts of duty. Even Father Maxwell was inclined to follow the King of Spain. We have reason to think that Father Gibault was among the four, as he is reported to have died in New Madrid in 1804."

The writer has spent some years in an endeavor to uncover some authentic information relative to the very last years and death of Father Gibault, and with very little success. John Gilmary Shea, the great Catholic historian, states in various parts of his historical works, that both Father John Olivier and Gabriel Richard wrote the Bishop of Baltimore, stating that Father Gibault died in New Madrid in 1804. It seems quite probable that these statements are correct, and it is natural to presume that his remains were interred in the Cemetery of St. Isidore's Church, of which he was at the time the pastor.

It would be some consolation if we could visit this cemetery, and

honor the departed missionary at his grave, but again nature seems to have added to the obscurity of the record. As the result of an earthquake on February 10, 1911, St. Isidore's Cemetery at New Madrid, was shattered and swallowed up by the waters of the Mississippi. Thus was even the last resting place of this saintly pioneer destroyed, and his bones presumably cast upon the turbulent waters of the Mississippi, to drift to some haven in the great gulf or the broad Atlantic. Truly the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away. Blessed be the name of the Lord.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

THE TRAPPISTS OF MONKS MOUND*

I.

The motorist speeding away from East St. Louis over the Collinsville road is but a few miles out of town when he begins to pass through what has been described as the greatest field for archaeological research in the United States. Here, on either side of the modern concrete highway, and over an area of two thousand square acres rise scattered groups of earth-mounds of varying shapes and dimensions, silent memorials of some strange aboriginal tribe. Some six miles out of East St. Louis the motorist has on his left, at but a few yards remove, the most imposing of these mounds, known variously as Big or Cahokia or Monks Mound. It is all very interesting, fascinating rather, one should say, this array of monuments of a vanished race, with their inevitable atmosphere of mystery and their secrets to challenge the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the investigator. The investigator has recently been at work in the person of Professor Warren C. Moorehead, the archaeologist, who is doing for the mounds of St. Clair County what the late Lord Carnarvon did through a long period of years for the tombs of Egypt's kings. No spectacular discovery of the mummy of an American Tutankhamen in its chamber of buried treasure is indeed to be looked for by the persevering explorer who pierces the hidden recesses of the Cahokia mounds; but the game has its allurements, and its profit too, in a scientific way, for it behooves science to know, if it can, the why and the wherefore of these outstanding earthen remains. At all events, the public is interested in the Cahokia explorations, the University of Illinois is supporting them, and the erection of at least a part of the mound district into a State Park is among the probabilities.

The foregoing paragraph serves no other purpose than to suggest the interest which may be presumed to attach to the topic of this paper, as being connected historically with the Cahokia mounds. During the years 1809-1813 a community of monks of the Order of La Trappe lived, I may say flourished, under the shadow of the largest of the mounds, which ever since has been popularly known as Monks Mound. The good monks came and went, leaving behind

*Reprinted from the March, 1925 number of *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*.

them scarcely a trace of their residence on Illinois soil. In the history of this great commonwealth their names may be said to be writ in water, were it not that at least the outstanding fact of their one-time habitation in St. Clair County is guaranteed against oblivion in the historic name of Monks Mound. Of the episode of Illinois history which thus centers about the State's greatest archaeological wonder, only fragmentary and in some respects misleading accounts have hitherto appeared. We shall venture here on a retelling of the episode, with as much authentic and accurate detail as available contemporary sources make possible, using especially for this purpose certain letters which the Superior of the Trappist monastery at the Mound (Notre Dame du Bon Secours) wrote thence to the Bishops of Baltimore and Quebec.

But we shall first endeavor to get a mental picture of the towering mass of earth which is to be in a measure the physical setting of our story. Printed descriptions of the Big Mound are numerous. It may perhaps answer our purpose best to reproduce a brief one from the pen of the traveller, Henry Brackenridge, who pictures the Mound as it appeared in 1811, at the very time the monks were cultivating its surface, with their monastery almost immediately alongside. Harking back though it does to so remote a period, this description is a substantially accurate one of the Mound as it appears today.

When I reached the foot of the largest mound, I was struck with the degree of astonishment not unlike that which is experienced in contemplating the Egyptian pyramids, and could not help exclaiming, "What a stupendous pile of earth!" To heap up such a mass must have required years and the labor of thousands. It stands immediately on the bank of the Cahokia, and on the side next it is covered with lofty trees. Were it not for the regularity and design which it manifests, the circumstance of its being on alluvial ground, and the other mounds scattered around it, we could scarcely believe it the work of human hands, in a country which we have generally believed never to have been inhabited by any but a few lazy Indians. The shape is that of a parallelogram, standing from north to south; on the south side there is a broad apron or step about half-way down, and from this another projection into the plain about fifteen feet wide, which was probably intended as an ascent to the mound. By stepping round the base I computed the circumference to be at least six hundred yards, and the height of the mound about ninety feet. The step

or apron has been used as a kitchen-garden by the monks of La Trappe, and the top is sowed with wheat.¹

II.

The story begins, continues and ends around the name of Urban Guillet, born in 1766 at Nantes, France, of Ambroise Augustin Guillet, Knight of Malta, and Marie Anne Quellec.² In 1785 La Trappe, the historic monastery of the Reformed Cistercians, opened its doors to this young Breton, who was the last accession to the community before the outbreak of the French Revolution. That great upheaval brought the monks (called Trappists after the name of the monastery) under the ban of the Paris authorities, with the result that they were forced to retire into foreign lands. A party of twenty-four, Guillet being of the number, under the leadership of Father Augustin L'Es-trange, who was to merit for his remarkable services in behalf of the Order the soubriquet of "Savior of La Trappe," found a refuge at Valsainte, a one-time Carthusian monastery some fifteen miles distant from Fribourg in Switzerland. Here Guillet heard one day with astonishment from the lips of a dying confrere, Brother Palaemon, a Piedmontese, the strange prediction that he would live to be a Superior in the Order. To Brother Urban no contingency

¹ Scharf, *History of St. Louis County and City*, 1:99. Two excellent accounts of the Cahokia Mounds, covering the results of the recent excavations, are Warren K. Moorehead, *The Cahokia Mounds*, with 16 plates—a preliminary paper (University of Illinois Bulletin, April 22, 1922), and A. R. Crook, *The Origin of the Cahokia Mounds* (Bulletin of the Illinois State Museum, Springfield, 1922). Actual surveys of the Monks' Mound differ in results, according to the lines followed by the surveyors. B. J. Van Court, cited in Moorehead, *op. cit.*, p. 16, writes: "In my survey I did not follow the irregularities of the mound, but made straight lines enclosing the base. The largest axis is from north to south and is 998 feet, the shortest from east to west is 721 feet. The height of the mound is 99 feet. The base of the structure covers 16 acres, 2 roods and 3 perches of ground." Bushnell's measurements are north-south, 1,080 feet, west, 710 feet, with a height of 100 feet.

"There are eighty mounds in this great Cahokia group, scattered over an area of about two thousand acres; but the extreme limits of this old city are still unknown. The largest of these mounds, known as the Cahokia Mound, is by far the largest ever raised by prehistoric races within the boundaries of what is now the United States. This mound is about 998 feet long, 710 feet wide and rises above the surrounding country to a height of over 90 feet." *Science*, April 20, 1923.

² The particulars of this and the following paragraph are borrowed for the most part from a letter of Dom Urban's to Bishop Plessis (Baltimore, September 4, 1809) detailing his career as a Trappist. Cf. also *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 3:786-791; *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, 1:86 et seq.

seemed more remote, for he was in shattered health and the only prospect before him appeared to be an early grave. Now it befell that the Abbot one day summoned Brother Urban to his presence, for he had a matter of importance to communicate to him. It was customary for the monks of La Trappe when thus summoned before their Superior to remain kneeling while they received his orders. The Urban did, but so weak of body was he that he had perforce to be assisted to his knees by the Abbot. "What would you say," the latter addressed him, "were I to send you on business outside the monastery?" As an obedient religious, the young Trappist could return only one answer. "I would go," he replied, at the same time sadly perplexed how one in his practically dying condition could manage to survive outside the monastery walls. "Then," spoke the Abbot, "you will leave tomorrow for Hungary." Without help of anybody, Urban rose at once to his feet and forgetting the crutch which he was accustomed to carry, started off at a running gait for his living quarters in the monastery not without great amazement on the part of the onlooking brethren. A cripple for eight years, he felt so far cured as to be able to endure the fatigues of the road. "From that time on," he says in relating the incident, "I never had any difficulty in walking."

The pedestrian journey to Hungary, whither he led a colony of Trappists, was the first chapter of the many similar ones that were to make up the Odyssey of his eventful life. Soon he came into relations with great personages of the day. Francis II, Holy Roman Emperor, and especially his sister, the archduchess of Prague, took the monks under their protection, the latter on one occasion herself personally befriending the young boys in Urban's party, when an attempt was made to separate them from the monks. The Trappists, it must be explained, had planned to enter the field of education, hoping in this manner to secure candidates for the Order, through the schools they afterwards opened were by no means restricted to this class of students. In Russia, whither circumstances forced them to retire from Hungary, they were welcomed by the Czar, the Carizna, and their son. But Jacobin intrigue, so it was believed, followed them at every turn, preventing them from making a permanent settlement anywhere. How the Trappists came into touch with George III of England is not known; but Urban declares that the sovereign named promised them six thousand dollars for the purchase of property in Kentucky, only the war that broke out between France and England preventing him from standing to his word. Certain it is at all events that William Pitt, England's famous Prime Minister, granted

Don Augustin, the Trappist Superior-General, an annual pension of 200 pounds.

Meanwhile Urban, now invested with the full powers of a Superior and accordingly, in conformity with monastic usage, henceforth to bear the title Dom, was directed by Dom Augustin, to lead a colony of monks to America. Having assembled a party of thirty-six, seven priests, eighteen lay-brothers and the rest students, Dom Urban set sail from Amsterdam May 24, 1802 on the *Sally*, a Dutch vessel flying the American colors as a safeguard, for France and England were then at war. Having gone far out of its course to avoid English pirates, the *Sally* put in at Baltimore September 25, after a voyage of four months, during which frightening storms, lack of food, and other distressing conditions made life wretched for the passengers.

At Baltimore the Sulpicians of St. Mary's College received the Trappists with the most cordial hospitality, offering them as a home an improved property known as Pigeon Hills, situated a few miles from Conewago in Adams County, Pennsylvania. This property had belonged to a Frenchman, who on returning to France gave it in trust to the Sulpicians to be disposed of as they saw fit. The school opened here by Dom Urban ended in failure, the boys whom the Trappists had brought with them from Europe (most of them Hollanders) proving recalcitrant and finally deserting altogether. Dom Urban thereupon moved his community to Kentucky, the trip, which was a distressing one, being made down the Ohio in flat-boats. Most of the monks arrived at their destination in a helpless condition from fever. In Kentucky two houses were opened, one on Pottinger's Creek near Bardstown, the other on Casey Creek in Casey County. The hand of death now fell heavily on the monks. Five priests and three lay-brothers fell victims to disease and were laid away in the little cemetery at Holy Cross.

Though Father Joseph Marie Dumand and some fellow Trappists had come from France to re-enforce the ranks of their brethren in Kentucky, the situation of the latter at length developed into one acute distress. A school which they opened, the first Catholic school in Kentucky, was not without wholesome effect on numerous sons of the pioneer families of the State, though the monks' slender acquaintance with English proved a serious bar to its success. So it was that an invitation extended by John Mullanphy to Dom Urban when the two met in Baltimore in 1808, to settle in Florissant, some sixteen miles northwest of St. Louis in Missouri, seemed to come at a most opportune moment. As an inducement Mullanphy, who was just then beginning to lay the foundation of the great fortune that was

to bring him celebrity at Missouri's first millionaire, offered the Trappists two houses in Florissant together with 120 acres of land rent-free for a year. One of the houses, located on the west side of the Rue St. Charles directly across from the Place D'Armes had been owned and occupied by François Dunegant, founder of the village and its commandant during the entire Spanish régime.³

Among the objects which Dom Augustin had in view in despatching a community of his monks to America was that of opening up to them a field for the education of Indians.⁴ Not white boys only, but youths also of the native tribes of the country were to be admitted to the monastery school. Already in 1806, one year after his arrival in Kentucky, Dom Urban was in correspondence on the subject with the veteran missionary of Illinois, Father Donatien Olivier. The latter wrote August 6 of that year to Father Stephen Badin. "Father Guillet, Superior of the Trappists, has made known to me his wish to have some Indian children in his community. I am not losing sight of it. The chief of the nation, who lives at Kaskaskia, has promised me to ask his tribesmen to send them some."⁵ Very likely it was the prospect of finding Indian boys in numbers in that quarter that turned Dom Urban's thoughts towards Illinois even before he had given himself a fair chance to succeed in Kentucky. For we must note here that the Abbot's frequent shifting of residence did not by any means commend themselves to the well-wishers of his community. The two pioneer priests of Kentucky, Fathers Stephen Theodore Badin and Charles Nerinckx had intimate dealings with the Trappists during their stay in Kentucky, and sought to relieve them in the difficulties they encountered. Both were one in commending the edifying demeanor of the monks and the unfailing regularity with which, amid the most painful circumstances, they observed the rigorous manner of life which they professed; but both also agreed that Dom Urban was not proving a success in his administration of the community's affairs. "They are poorly situated," Father Nerinckx wrote of the Trappists in November, 1805, shortly after their arrival in Kentucky: "St. Bernard will have to help them for, in my opinion, Father Urban, their Superior, is not the man in the right place."⁶ The opinion of Father Badin (who else-

³ Garraghan, *St. Ferdinand de Florissant: the Story of an Ancient Parish*, pp. 103-111.

⁴ Guillet to Carroll, Bardstown, Ky., October 15, 1808.

⁵ *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (Louvain ed.) p. 392.

⁶ Maes, *Life of Father Nerinckx*, p. 101.

where says of Dom Urban that "he means well") is conveyed in a letter of March 10, 1808, addressed to Bishop Carroll of Baltimore:

I wish them [the Trappists] well, because of the edification they may render to the church; but after wasting a deal of money, after a residence of four or five years in America, after many valuable offers and efforts to establish them, their existence appears as precarious now as it ever was. Their Superior, governed by that young man who flatters him and should rather be a novice than a counsellor, is displeased with the tract or rather various tracts of land, which to purchase or connect he has been incessantly travelling, apparently leading the life of a post-boy rather than that of a Trappist. He intends to send a colony to the Illinois; he is in debt for five or six thousand dollars and must soon be at law. The evil is owing also to his overweening confidence in himself and his distrust of others. I had procured him valuable friends, more capable than I of advising him in the purchase of land, etc. But he advises with nobody. Acquainted as I am with the language, manners, business and difficulties of the country, I would esteem it rashness to attempt the tenth part of the affairs into which the Reverend Father has imprudently involved himself. But unhappily his miscarriage and almost unavoidable ruin must ultimately rebound to the disgrace of the church, unless St. Bennett [Benedict] and St. Bernard renew some of the miracles wrought formerly in favor of their children.⁷

Whatever may have been Father Badin's opinion of the expediency of Dom Urban's contemplated settlement in the Illinois country, he at all events lent him aid in carrying it out. On the occasion of a visit to St. Louis in the fall of 1808 he approached the Governor of Missouri Territory, Meriwether Lewis, on the subject of a Government bounty in land for the Trappists as being engaged in education. The Governor required two certificates to the effect that they

⁷ Badin to Carroll, March 10, 1808. The following incident seems to lend color to Father Badin's complaint that Dom Urban allowed himself rashly to be involved in financial difficulties. Bishop Carroll on one occasion gave the Trappist a letter introducing him to his kinsman, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence, and commending his request for a loan of \$400. The latter promised to lend Dom Urban the money in six months, only, however, in the contingency that he would be able to recover certain debts. But Dom Urban went ahead on this conditional promise and on the assurance of certain friends that they would pay the interest on the expected loan, and purchased a \$400 tract of land in Kentucky. Later Charles Carroll informed Dom Urban that he could not lend the money and so the Trappist was left with the unpaid property on his hands. Guillet to Plessis, March 27, 1807, in *La Nouvelle France*, 10:542.

were so engaged, one from a resident of Baltimore, the other from some one in Kentucky. "All I desire," Dom Urban wrote to Bishop Carroll, November 12, 1808, "is a certificate from your Lordship attesting that I and my conferes do in truth make profession of educating youth and that our means do not permit us to purchase land for that purpose."⁸ A few weeks before (October 15) he had written to the same prelate asking him for a letter certifying "that I have come to America particularly to engage in the education of youth, Indian as well as white, and that I have been constantly taken up with this task without remuneration for the last four years."⁹

It will be recalled that John Mullanphy offered Dom Urban two houses and 120 acres of land in Florissant rent-free for a year, it probably having been stipulated that in event of permanent occupancy the property was to be acquired by purchase. But a rival to Mullanphy now appeared in the field in the person of Nicholas Jarrot of Cahokia, the historic French settlement on the Illinois side of the Mississippi. Jarrot, who had been a steward in the Sulpician Seminary at Baltimore, had come in 1795 to Cahokia where he acquired prominence as the principal landholder of the district. Governor Edwards described him in 1812 as "one of the most intelligent, wealthy and respectable French citizens."¹⁰ His real-estate holdings in St. Clair County were extensive, scores of tracts to which he claimed title being listed in the American State Papers. A four-hundred acre tract situated in the mound-district and including within its limits the Big Mound itself was now offered by Jarrot to Dom Urban, apparently as a gift. Were the monks to settle here, they might look forward to enlarging the Jarrot donation by land obtained gratuitously or at a nominal price from the Government. In fact, Dom Urban appears to have taken up this matter with William Henry Harrison, the future President, then Governor of Indiana Territory, of which Illinois, at this period constituted a part. At all events personal investigation of the Florissant and Cahokia offers was necessary if their respective claims to choice was to be ascertained; for which Dom Urban undertook a journey West, without waiting for the certificate he had solicited from Bishop Carroll. He had in his company the Prior, Father Joseph Marie Dunand, and a lay-brother, the

⁸ Guillet to Carroll, November 12, 1808.

⁹ Guillet to Carroll, October 15, 1808.

¹⁰ Edwards (Ninian W.), *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833. Life and Times of Ninian Edwards*, p. 331.

party arriving in St. Louis on Christmas Eve, 1808.¹¹ On December 28 Dom Urban and Father Dunand were at Florissant, where the latter baptized in the village church. The Trappist Superior would seem to have taken up again with Governor Lewis the question of a Government subsidy in land; but nothing was effected as he was still without the certificate that should have accompanied his petition. Within the next few months, Meriwether Lewis, who with his associate William Clark, had written into history a few years before America's greatest journey of exploration, passed from the scene, having at the very height of his brilliantly expanding career met a mysteriously tragic death in a backwoods Tennessee village. On January 6 Dom Urban and his confreres started back for Kentucky, no choice having been made between the Mullanphy and Jarrot offers, except a provisional acceptance of the former, pending a more satisfactory acquaintance with conditions on both sides of the Mississippi. Arrived in Kentucky, Dom Urban despatched to Bishop Carroll, January 28, 1809, a brief account of the results that had attended his Western trip:

It is only four [?] days since I returned from the Illinois and our trip has been so distressing that the Father Prior [Dunand], whom I brought with me to help me select a tract of land, has told me that not for all the world would he begin the journey over again unless he saw therein the will of God. In spite of the cold, we had to pass a number of creeks by swimming. On no day did we find a sufficiency, I will not say of meat, for we never eat any, but not even of bread. One may easily judge that it is not a pleasant thing for Religious who eat only once a day and who in travelling are often forced to limit themselves to bread and water not to find even the necessary amount of this poor nourishment after having travelled the whole day long. It is true that having received your certificate only after my return, I have made no arrangements with the Governor of St. Louis [Lewis] nor with the one at Post Vincennes [Harrison]. Both are desirous of having me, and the habitants on either side of the river [Mississippi] contend among themselves as to who will have the college. I have found on each side of the river a suitable site for a monastery, but have been unable to proceed to a sale owing to the self-interest actuating both parties. Those of St. Louis say that the Post side of the river is unhealthy, while those of the Post say the same of the St. Louis side. This is why I contented myself with accepting two houses and 130 arpents of land near St. Louis for a year only so as during this time to get at the real truth of the matter and build at the place which will suit best.¹²

¹¹ "Diary of Father Dunand" in *Records American Catholic Historical Society*, 26:334.

¹² Guillet to Carroll, January 28, 1809.

III

On April 23, 1809, the main body of the Trappists, including all of their number except Dom Urban himself and three other monks, left Kentucky for Florissant. In the party, which was under the conduct of Father Dunand, were also a number of young Kentucky boys, who had apparently attended the Trappist school just broken up. The monks, so Bishop Spalding declares, boarded and educated the boys under their charge gratuitously up to the age of twenty-one, with a view to securing some at least of their number as recruits for the Order. Shortly after the departure of the monks from Kentucky Father Badin wrote to Bishop Carroll: "On the 23 of April the good Trappists left this state. I follow them with my best wishes to the country they are going to edify."¹³ The route followed by the monks was by the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri Rivers to a coal-hill on the right bank of the latter known as La Charbonniere and situated a few miles southwest of Florissant. Here they disembarked from the flat-boats in which they had made the trip and traveled overland to Florissant, where they were arrived before the end of May.

The Trappist community now assembled at Florissant counted besides Father Dunand, two other priests, Father Bernard Marie Langlois, a Canadian, who had joined the community in Kentucky, and Father Ignace, who belonged to a sort of auxiliary organization founded by Dom Augustin L'Estrange and known as the Third Order of La Trappe. Only a short stay in Florissant, so it would appear, sufficed to convince Father Dunand that here was not the place to settle down permanently; for in the fall of the same year, 1809, the Trappist body with the exception of Father Bernard, two of the lay-brothers and the school-boys, moved across the Mississippi to the Jarrot property at Big Mound and there made preparations for a permanent residence. Failure to provide themselves with good drinking-water by digging a well now almost proved their undoing. They drank freely of the water of a near-by stream, presumably Cahokia Creek, which was so filled with big fish, Dom Urban wrote, that the fish died in large numbers with resulting contamination of the water. As a consequence, the monks were taken down one by one with a dangerous fever, probably typhoid in character. When Dom Urban arrived on the scene in November, 1809, there was no work going on at the Big Mound, for his community were waging a

¹³ Badin to Carroll, January 7, 1809.

grim fight for life. The Superior himself had left Kentucky October 21, with two other monks, a batch of school-boys, and a large drove of cattle and horses, making the journey overland to Cahokia. What with dumb beasts and mischief-loving lads to look after, the sorely tried Superior had a "man's size" job on the way, as he records graphically in a letter written to Bishop Pressis of Quebec a few weeks after his arrival at the Mound.

We left overland to the number of three religious and eight children and their teachers with forty head of stock, including horses, oxen and cows. The persons who had so sharply opposed our departure, repenting of their mistake, were the first to encourage us to remain; but it was too late nor did they know that by their bitter talk they had put us under the necessity of setting off without the necessary money. For three weeks the weather was very fine, but so hot that the dust and drought made us suffer much. Our best horse fell sick as we were leaving and remained lying for two days without eating or drinking. On towards the middle of the trip several of our mounts, as they were worn out and had their backs all galled, refused service, so that it became necessary for one after another of us to travel on foot. One of the wheels of our conveyance broke in twelve pieces. Twice the conveyance upset on the detestable roads and once it broke down. Frequently big-sized gangs of adventurers on their way to Louisiana kept us company. They stole from us and exhausted the water in the springs, while their animals, left without fodder at night, threw themselves on our own. The country-folk who lived in small numbers along the way seemed to have had the cue to sell their commodities for three times more than they were worth. These drawbacks together with the high cost of provisions so thoroughly depleted our purse that at the end of the journey we were reduced to the extremity of sharing one little biscuit between four and had only nine cents left to pay our passage over the Cahokia River. The journey lasted a month. It was a lucky thing the last week was rainy, for our horned cattle and several of the horses refused to go any further.

Still, I was the only one attacked by fever (it lasted only two days); which was not surprising, seeing that I was obliged to stand watch almost every night and had made the journey at least three times. Then, too, every time we stopped or started off again, or whenever other people's stock got mixed up with our own, I was obliged to count them. Sometimes the mixing-up would begin just when only half were counted. As a result, I had constantly to be going back and forth, the more so, as our animals not getting on well together, we were divided into four bands distant a quarter of a mile from one another. Moreover, I had only three intelligent persons with me, the children requiring to be watched as much as the horses. We finally arrived without bread and money at Cahokia where fortunately I had a good friend. The first person I met there informed me that our Father Prior was very sick. Although this was not a pleasant

bit of news, I thought I was getting off very well with only one person sick; but on coming up to the monastery, I found quite a different condition of things. I observed a priest with death painted all over his figure, carrying with difficulty to some others sicker than himself a little soup which he had made with still greater difficulty. All were dangerously sick and were lying in a wretched shack, without windows or chimney, and with the wind blowing in on every side. Three old planks suspended over a pot made the kitchen. We scattered some hay on the ground, which we covered with the shabby canvas that had served us for a tent on the journey, while the canvas-cover of our conveyance served as a roof. They had begun digging a well, but their strength giving out, the well remained unfinished. We finished it, while, pending its completion, I put into the water some of the good vinegar I had brought along to correct the water along the way. I procured them whatever relief I could, especially good bread which my friend of Cahokia, named Nicholas Jarrot, has furnished them up to this day, refusing at the same time to be paid for it. The majority have recovered and with the aid of the three religious I brought along with me, they are beginning to build. Only the Father Prior, another priest and a lay-brother continued to be very sick.¹⁴

Such was the situation at the Big Mound in December, 1809. The Trappist community was still divided, the greater part of it being at the Mound, but a part also remaining at Florissant. "It is true," Dom Urban wrote to Bishop Plessis, "that until we are settled down, we shall accomplish no good and yet we are still divided." However it was expected that within a month's time when the cabins would have been finished, Father Bernard with the boys would come over to the "Cahokia side, which is," so Dom Urban declared "our true place of residence though we have there only 400 arpents."¹⁵ How to extend his holdings, for a larger extent of land seemed to be necessary to the success of his plans, was the problem that now engaged the attention of the Superior. To secure Government land either free of cost or at a low figure per acre was, under the circumstances, the obvious step to take. Ninian Edwards, the first Governor of Illinois Territory, had been installed in office in June, 1809, a few months before the arrival of the Trappists in Illinois. Now only in his thirty-second year he had, in order to take up his new charge, vacated the high office of Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky. In him the monks found a sympathetic friend.

"The Governor of Illinois, though not a Catholic," wrote Don Urban in his letter of December 14, 1809, to the Bishop of Quebec, "has a great liking for us and it is chiefly he who is holding me here.

¹⁴ Guillet to Plessis, December 14, 1809.

¹⁵ Guillet to Plessis, December 14, 1809.

He is doing all he can to prevail on the Government to increase our land and offers me letters of recommendation of which he prefers that I be the bearer.

I should very much like to be able to transport myself to Quebec for a day and consult there with your Lordship, for never have I been so at a loss what to do as at this moment. We are on an excellent piece of land near the river L'Abbe, nine miles above Cahokia, but the land we hold is much too small in size for our establishment. The Governor of Illinois, who was my neighbor in Kentucky, my great friend [Jarrot], all my confreres now residing with me, and in general all my friends advise me to petition the Government for land. Although I don't like making this petition I dare not withstand all the worthy people here, in fact, I might say, all the inhabitants of Illinois and Louisiana, for such is the wish of the public. I have already drafted a petition on paper; but there are many difficulties in the way. 1. Every one counsels me to go and present my petition in person to Congress; but it seems to me too risky a thing to leave my brethren before they are reunited, which cannot be until the Mississippi is thoroughly frozen over, and then I should have to leave immediately. I should prefer to write, but am assured that my presence is necessary as there will be difficulties to overcome. 2. Several, but these are not the best informed as to Government policy, advise that the land be asked for gratis; but certain former members of Congress, who consequently understand its policy, tell me that I should obtain nothing at all this way. On the other hand, I shall find no difficulty in asking to buy on ten or twelve years credit. If I take the former course, the individuals of greatest influence with the Government would have nothing to do with the matter, believing themselves certain of refusal; on the contrary, by taking the latter course I am assured of their support. But how shall I venture to go into debt? It is true indeed that I am assured of getting land right away at two dollars an acre and of being able within four or five years to sell part of it at eight or nine dollars an acre; which would suffice to pay for the part I should keep. But, once more, the debt would be certain, and though it be easy for me to obtain another postponement, the debt will have to be paid some day, while the sale I hope to make, though very probable, is not certain. 3. I haven't a dollar and no time to go and beg any, for I should have to set off without delay. I cannot make the journey alone, which doubles the expense, and we have no habits, either I or the one who would accompany me. Besides all this I cannot leave before paying \$145 dollars which the Father prior must settle for before Christmas, since, owing to the fact that we arrived here too late to sow our corn, he was obliged to buy some for 145 dollars.

So far I have decided on nothing and am waiting for the Governor, who is kept at St. Louis by the ice. He tried three times yesterday to pass over with twenty men; but the ice-floes carried the barge down. If I stay here and our enterprise does not succeed, everybody will blame me. If I undertake the journey, those who decried me so

loudly will be scandalized at it and say that they are right in calling me a gad-about. God alone knows (unless I deceive my own self), how I detest journeyings and worldly company. Whatever be the success of this petition, we are determined to remain at Cahokia on our 400 acres of land; maybe we shall be able to buy some in the course of time, supposing the Government does nothing, for we are tired of travels during which as a master of sheer necessity our rule is only half-observed."¹⁶

IV.

The scene now shifts from the Big Mound to the nation's capital, whither Dom Urban at the earnest solicitation of his community went early in 1810 for the double purpose of having his title to the Jarrot property confirmed by Congress and of obtaining from that body some additional land by grant or purchase. Father Badin had ventured in a letter to Bishop Carroll to characterize Dom Urban as the "wandering abbot." Probably had the latter known how to use to better purpose the opportunities that lay at hand and make the most of actual conditions, discouraging though these often were, he might have achieved a permanent American house for the patient monks that followed him as guide. Be this as it may, surely it was no mere wanderlust that urged the good abbot to his frequent journeyings and shifts of residence. For these he knew indeed that he was an object of blame, unwarrantably so he thought, even in quarters otherwise most sympathetic to him and his community. In explanation of his trip to Washington he wrote thence to Bishop Plessis, May 1, 1810:

"I see very well, as your Lordship points out to me, that I am blamed somewhat and that you think, were you my Bishop, you would have prevented me from making this journey. This does not at all surprise me. . . . My community, afraid they may be forced to vacate, hasn't the courage to build or clear the ground; they beg me to go to Congress to get a guarantee of our title. What ought I to do under these circumstances? . . . Bishop Carroll on seeing me also thought I did wrong to make this trip; but he soon changed his opinion in the matter and gave me an excellent letter of recommendation along with a certificate of great advantage to me. Msgr. Du Bourg, President of St. Mary's College, his Lordship the Bishop of Georgetown [Rt. Rev. Leonard Neale] and in general all who have any knowledge of Congressional procedure, are agreed that I could not get out of making this journey."

¹⁶ Guillet to Plessis, December 14, 1809. The river L'Abbe (mentioned also in American State Papers, *Public Lands*, Vol. 2, *passim*) is apparently an old name for Cahokia Creek.

"To come back to your letter, I will say you are right in thinking that 400 acres of land are enough to keep us occupied for many years; they would be enough for ever, were we to limit our numbers to a very small community without educating children. But should the Government reject our title, it will be necessary then to move again, and I know there are a great number of rejected titles. Besides that, even if they sufficed for a while, they would not suffice for ever, and when all the wood should be used up, it would be necessary to abandon this little establishment and run about looking for another one, which we might not find; for we must not dream of buying land in the vicinity after the decision of the government, since there are a good many people eager to settle down near us, which would soon double the price of the land. You have seen above that several families of adventurers have already come to settle near us and even on our 400 acres and that they steal all they can. It is such considerations, taking as they do all courage from my confreres, to go on with the establishment before securing a title, that have led them to beg of me to undertake this journey. I could not put it off to another year, because the Land Commissioners having finished their examination of titles and having to appear shortly before Congress to make their report, the validity or nullity of the respective land-claims are going to be published, etc. . . . I do not believe there is another tribunal in the world where one will see so many men ready to oppose the least requests that are made. I have had to answer and must still answer a number of questions which I could never have anticipated by letter and which no one could answer without knowing our rule and the intentions of the community or without being able to give pledges in its name. The distance between the two places would never allow of so many pourparlers."¹⁷

The second session of the 11th Congress was in progress and the democratic administration of James Madison was holding office when Dom Urban arrived at the seat of government. A note of \$500 on which he was relying to pay his expenses became worthless as the result of a bankruptcy and he entered Washington with scarcely a dollar in his pocket. How he secured board and lodging while there, he nowhere explains. There was no resident Catholic priest in the capital at the time, though in near-by Georgetown he may have found lodging with the Jesuits. Probably, the greater part of his stay in the East was spent at Baltimore, where friends were not lacking and whence it was a matter of only forty miles to the capital. Dom Urban's petition under both heads was referred to a Senate committee of which Senator Brent of Virginia was chairman. Before these shrewd, hard-headed American politicians of the day, either Democrats or Federalists in party affiliation, appeared now the un-

¹⁷ *La Nouvelle France*, 15:134 et seq; 210.

worldly figure of the exile monk of La Trappe. Surely we must admire the courage that enabled him, with his imperfect knowledge of English, thus to face the lawmakers of a strange land and return the answers and make the explanations which they called for. With the naivete and ingenuousness that we find outstanding traits in the personality of Dom Urban, there went also an adventurous resourcefulness that carried him through situations of no small difficulty for one of his antecedents. As to his petition to Congress, the members of that body appear to have divided on it according to party lines.

"I have consulted a number of Senators and national representatives. . . . The Federalists are of opinion that since I wish to buy, I run no risk of having my application for a large quantity of land refused; they think, too, that having a good title, I shall be able to re-sell a part of the land at a higher figure to pay for the rest of it. They add that if I petition for a small quantity people will look upon my establishment as an affair meriting no consideration. The best heads think that way about it, and I myself am inclined to favor such a line of action, though it has its dangers. The Democrats, on the contrary, maintain that if I ask for a great deal of land, they will take me for a speculator in public lands and so I shall obtain nothing at all."¹⁸

Dom Urban, having been given to understand that 4000 acres would not be an amount large enough to draw on him a suspicion of being a speculator in public lands, filed a petition for that amount. On April 2, Senator Brent, as chairman of the Committee to whom the petition had been referred, reported the petition to the Senate in the following terms:¹⁹

That the order of La Trappe is represented to the committee to be of the Roman Catholic religion, and of very high antiquity. It consists of monks of severe habits and rigid discipline. That one great object of their order is the gratuitous instruction and education

¹⁸ *La Nouvelle France*, 15:209. According to Dom Urban, the Committee before which he appeared asked him how much land he wished to have, adding that he might have it either gratis, but with certain obligations to fulfill, or for payment, in which case he would be free of all obligations. Many of his friends urged him to apply for a free grant, but he objected on the ground of inability to meet the conditions. He would be required so it seems to admit day-scholars into his school; to keep a certain number of boys until the age of twenty-one, and those not of his own choice, but such as were presented by Government; and finally to allow government officials or trustees the right of inspection of the monastery-school. It is possible that Dom Urban misapprehended some of these obligations as explained to him. At any rate, he declined to apply for a free grant of land. *La Nouvelle France*, 15:208.

¹⁹ American State Papers, *Public Lands*, 2:106.

of children, either in literature, agriculture, or the mechanical arts. That every person, upon entering into the order, is subjected to religious vows, for the due observance of the customs, habits, and discipline of the order.

Amongst these vows are the following: To observe celibacy, to avoid riches, to employ their time in labor, and the gratuitous instruction and education of children, etc.

That this order was formerly established in France, not far distant from Paris; that, during the revolution there, upon the suppression of the monasteries, the petitioner and his associates sought an asylum in the United States, and first settled themselves in the State of Kentucky, where they established their order, and persevered in the observance of all the rights, customs, etc. thereof; that they have since removed into the Illinois territory, about four miles from St. Louis, where they have again established themselves upon a tract of four hundred acres of land, a donation from N. Jarrot; that they have made considerable improvements upon this land, and have now thirty monks and thirty-five scholars in the establishment; the scholars are educated gratuitously, and principally supported by the cultivation bestowed by the order upon a portion of that tract of land; that, although the order of La Trappe is strictly Roman Catholic, male children of all descriptions and denominations are equally permitted to enjoy the benefits of their instruction; the only rule of exclusion being the incapacity of the child.

The petitioner has presented to the committee numerous testimonials of the innocence and good morals of the order, and its utility in affording an opportunity of instruction to the poor children in their neighborhood, and even to the aborigines of the country, several of whom they are now instructing in the agricultural and mechanical arts.

The petitioner has some apprehensions of the validity of the title of the four hundred acres of land upon which the establishment is made, and is desirous of having the same confirmed by the United States. He is also desirous of purchasing four thousand acres of the public lands on a credit of twelve years, for the purpose of enabling their order to extend their establishment. The committee are of the opinion that the establishment is a useful one in that part of the country, in affording an opportunity for instruction to children, who would otherwise be destitute thereof, and therefore entitled to the patronage of Congress, at least to the limited extent prayed for by the petitioner.

The committee, therefore, recommend the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the United States relinquish to Urban Guillet, for the benefit of the religious order of La Trappe, their right to the four hundred acres of land mentioned in his petition.

Resolved, That provision be made, by law, for selling to Urban Guillet, for the benefit of the order of La Trappe, four thousand acres of land adjoining their present establishment in the Illinois territory,

for two dollars per acre, upon a credit of twelve years, without interest.^{19a}

The three readings of the bill took place successively on April 2, 7, and 14. No record of the debate, if any, which it occasioned, is available; but the bill amended and bearing the title "An Act Concerning the Society of the Order of La Trappe" passed the Senate on April 14, it being ordered "That the Secretary requests the concurrence of the House of Representatives in this bill." In its final stages in the Senate the measure seems to have been looked after by Senator Gilman of New Hampshire. It never came to a vote in the Lower House, no mention of it occurring in the House Journal after the first reading on April 16. As far as Congress was concerned, Dom Urban's petition under both heads was a failure. However, the latter gives a somewhat different account of the outcome, saying that he succeeded at least in securing confirmation of his title to the Jarrot property. This favor he must have secured independently of Congressional action, probably through the Land Office or one of the Boards of Land Commissioners then functioning. From Washington just before Congress adjourned Dom Urban wrote to Bishop Plessis:

"Here we are already at the 1st of May and tomorrow Congress adjourns with my affair left unfinished. They have confirmed my 400 acres, something that will at least compensate me for my journey; for my brethren will not be forced to vacate; but as to permission to attach other lands thereto, that is carried over to the next session. There are too many affairs of state to allow of any thought being given to mine, and there would have been danger of having it thrown out altogether if it had been brought up at a time when heads were heated by discussion. Two deputies have assured me that all agree privately to grant the request but that it is necessary to await a more favorable moment. I ask of Congress merely permission to locate around my establishment 4000 acres of land taken from military grants still available which I shall be able to procure; and I hope to purchase a good part of them in exchange for horses, which plan will suit me very well, for I should not know where to get the money for 4000 acres."²⁰

^{19a} *Journal of the Senate and House* (Seaton and Gales, ed.). Benton in his *Abridgment of the Delegates of Congress* makes no mention at all of the Trappist bill.

²⁰ *La Nouvelle France*, 15:214. According to the Trappist writer in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 3:791, the application for a great of public land on credit, while favored by President Madison and other government officials, met with opposition of religious bigotry.

The 11th Congress adjourned on May 2, 1810. Many important matters, as the charges of treason against General Wilkinson and the unwholesome conditions in the American camps around New Orleans (our second war with England being then in progress) had been taken up for consideration. One will easily believe Abbot Urban's explanation that "affairs of state" of greater moment than his little petition had crowded the latter out. At all events the title to his 400 acres had apparently been confirmed and that was something gained. For some time after his return to Illinois, the Abbot seems to have busied himself with the preparation of a second petition to Congress, this time asking to be authorized to buy out holders of military land-grants lying adjacent to his 400 acres, these grants to be paid for not in cash but in horses. There is no evidence that this second contemplated petition was ever presented to Congress while it is doubtful whether all legal steps looking to the confirmation of the title to the Jarrot 400 acres were ever actually taken by the monks. At all events, on the departure of the latter from Illinois the property in question reverted to the donor.

V.

As to the manner of life led by the Trappists at Monks Mound, it appears that it did not depart except probably in accidental details from the general routine followed in other monasteries of the Order. Great abstemiousness in food and drink and unbroken silence are perhaps the outstanding practices associated in the popular mind with this austere religious Order of the Catholic Church; and these practices we know were strictly observed at Monks Mound. In fact, that Dom Urban's community adhered even amid the most trying circumstances to all the rigorous prescriptions of the Trappist rule (apart from the necessary relaxation indulged in while on journeys) is attested by contemporary observers. Since some account of Trappist life must enter into any satisfactory treatment of our topic we shall find it to our purpose here to cite the words of one competent to speak on the subject, the present Abbot of the Trappist Monastery of Gethsemani, Kentucky:

" . . . Out of the time of Divine Office, before which nothing is to be preferred and when not engaged in manual labour, the monks devote themselves to prayer, study or pious reading, for there is never any time granted for recreation; these exercises always take place in common, never in private rooms. The hour for rising is at 2 A. M. on week-days, 1:30 on Sundays, and 1 on the more solemn feasts; whilst the hour for retiring is at 7 P. M. in the winter, and

8 in the summer; in this latter season there is a *siesta* given after dinner, so that the religious have seven hours' sleep in the course of the day; about seven hours also are devoted to the Divine Office and Mass, one hour to meals, four hours to study and private prayers and five hours to manual labor; in winter there are about four hours devoted to manual labor, the extra hour thus deducted being given to study.

The monks are obliged to live by the labour of their hands, so the task appointed for manual labour is seriously undertaken, and is of such a nature as to render them self-supporting; such as cultivation of the land, cattle-raising, etc. Dinner is partaken of at 11 A. M. in the summer, at 11:30 in winter, and at 12 on fast days, with support or collation in the evening. Food consists of bread, vegetables, and fruits; milk and cheese may also be given in Advent, Lent, and all Fridays out of Paschal time. Flesh-meat, fish, and eggs are forbidden at all times, except to the sick. All sleep in a common dormitory, the beds being divided from each other only by a partition and curtain; the bed to consist of mattress and pillow stuffed with straw, and sufficient covering. The monks are obliged to sleep in their regular clothing; which consists of ordinary underwear, a habit of white, and a scapular of black wool, with a leathern cincture; the cowl, of the same material as the habit, is worn over all. Enclosure, according to canon law, is perpetual in all houses. It is never allowed for the religious to speak amongst themselves, though the one in charge of a work or employment may give necessary directions; and all have the right of conversing with the superiors at any time, except during the night hours, called the 'great silence.'²¹

As a pertinent reflection on this authentic description of Trappist life, we may be permitted to note that the unusual mortality among the monks of Dom Urban's community during their stay in the United States is not necessarily to be attributed to the severity of their rule. The rigors of a new climate, improper housing, the frequently recurring epidemics of fever and other sicknesses of the period and, finally, the difficulty of obtaining the minimum of sustaining food which even a Trappist must have to preserve health, such conditions go far to explain a death-toll which we have no reason to suppose would under other circumstances have risen so high. Reynolds noted that many of the monks he met at the Mound looked healthy and robust; and, for one thing, we do not read that the average life-span of a Trappist monk of today is shorter than that of other classes of professional men. It is a common-place of medical teaching that over-eating kills more men than under-eating; and the experience of ages is behind the homely dictum "if you would live long, eat little."

²¹ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15:25.

The improvements made by the monks were described by Brackenridge as considerable. They put up some eighteen cabins, very probably all of logs, one of which served as chapel, another as refectory, a third as kitchen and so for the various needs of the community and farm. Gaillardin, the Trappist historian, says that collectively the cabins presented the appearance of an army-camp. The principal cabins seem to have been built on a smaller mound a short distance west of the Big Mound, fifty yards according to Brackenridge and two hundred and fifty according to Thomas and Wild.^{21a} The Big Mound itself was not built on by the Trappists, though they raised wheat on its surface and cultivated a vegetable garden on the terrace or apron at its southern end. But it was planned to use the topmost surface as a building-site for the permanent abbey when means should be at hand for its erection.

Besides running a farm for their own subsistence and for the raising of produce which might be exchanged for other commodities, the monks conducted a sort of watch-making establishment. The fire which destroyed their monastery in Kentucky towards the end of 1808, and with it the best part of their library, fortunately left their watch-making equipment untouched. In the fire, however, was destroyed a surveyor's compass, which, Dom Urban notes, would have been of great service to his men at the Mound.²² Here Brackenridge found in 1811 a better watch-making outfit than any he saw in St. Louis. Of interest in this connection is an advertisement which appeared in the *Missouri Republican* January 21, 1811.

"Notice.—Several persons having showed to the monks of La Trappe a desire to purchase watches, if they would sell them for trade, the said monks in order to satisfy everybody, give notice to the public that until the end of the year 1811 they will sell watches, clocks, and other silversmith's work, and also fine horses, for the following articles in trade, viz.: wheat, corn, linen, beef, pork, cattle, leather, tallow, blankets, etc.

"URBAIN GUILLET,

"Superior of the Monks,

"Cantine Mounds, nine miles above Cahokia."

"N. B.—The above-mentioned articles will be sold at a lower price to whoever shall pay cash."²³

^{21a} Thomas and Wild, *op. cit.*, 55. Dom Urban expresses himself in a letter to Bishop Carroll as though the Jarrot property was not a donation to the monks. However, the petition addressed by him to Congress in 1811 expressly calls it such.

²² Guillet to Plessis, December 14, 1809.

²³ *Missouri Gazette*, January 21, 1811, cited in Scharf, *History of St. Louis City and County*, 1:99.

Few incidents appear to have marked the quiet, unobtrusive flow of monastic life while the monastery was maintained. The great New Madrid earthquake of 1812 with its recurrent shocks lasting six months put the monks on edge, as it did no doubt the other residents of the Illinois country.²⁴ The booming of cannon at the battle of Tippecanoe, in November, 1811, which put the *coup de grace* to Indian resistance in the Northwest, is said to have been heard distinctly by them, though a distance of some two hundred miles separated them from the scene of conflict.²⁵ Probably the great stretch of new, uncultivated country that lay between provided unusually favorable conditions for the transmission of sound waves. Though depredations and murders by Indians in St. Clair County were not uncommon at this period, the monks themselves were never molested. The whole population of Illinois Territory in 1812 was about 12,000, the Indians outnumbering the whites three to one.²⁶ North of Edwardsville there was nothing but a wilderness, home of the redmen and prowling beasts. At the outbreak of the War of 1812 the ancient cannon of Fort Chartres, of seventeenth-century make, were removed thence and planted at Fort Russell on the northern outskirts of Edwardsville. But the whites kept the redmen successfully at bay and the Indian menace eventually melted away. In the parties organized at intervals in St. Clair County to repel Indian hostilities, the young men of the monastery (the lay-students, no doubt, not the monks) are said to have been represented. At the Mound itself the Indians were often visitors but never for unfriendly purposes. The chanting of the monks impressed them and they listened with awe to the strange music that arose amid the burial-grounds of their forefathers.²⁷

Though they were not engaged to the ministry by rule, circum-

²⁴ Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 458. "An almost continual earthquake lasting from the night of December 15-16 to the present, February 19, makes very much towards bringing back the people (to their religious duties). I was just within an inch of being crushed by a falling chimney. A great number of houses were considerably damaged, but no one was killed. The earth, so they say, has opened in several places, particularly three miles away from our monastery. From this last opening nothing comes up but sand and water. Fortunately our poor cabin of wood and mud can undergo a long shaking without any danger. These undressed trees lying one over the other cannot be separated except by a considerable effort. There are houses of stone and brick that had to be abandoned." Guillet to Plessis, Feb. 18, 1812, in *La Nouvelle France*, 17:188.

²⁵ Spalding *Kentucky Sketches*, p. 173.

²⁶ Davidson and Stuve, *History of Illinois*, p. 245.

²⁷ Spalding, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

stances made it incumbent on the Trappists to discharge the duties of pastors on behalf of the Catholic residents on both sides of the mid-Mississippi. During the decade 1808-1818 there was no resident priest at St. Louis and in fact in the entire Missouri Territory above St. Genevieve, while in Illinois there was outside of the Trappist community but a single priest, the veteran missionary, now almost incapacitated for work, Father Donatien Olivier of Prairie Du Roche.²⁸ Don Urban officiated at Cahokia, where for a while he refused to condescend until the congregation repaired the sadly dilapidated church roof. But he was also frequently on the other side of the river in ministerial visits to St. Louis, St. Charles, Florissant and Portage des Sioux. This was especially the case after the death in November, 1810, of his confessor, Father Bernard Langlois, who together with Father Dunand was very zealous in visiting the Missouri parishes. Dom Urban, it would appear, did not ride horseback without difficulty, owing probably to the chronic rheumatism from which he suffered. He notes in a letter that every time he crossed the Mississippi involved an outlay of three dollars for the services of an attendant to help him mount his horse.²⁹ That these trips were not pleasant adventures may be gathered from Dom Urban's own words:

"Often at St. Charles and St. Ferdinand and further on I was in great distress; I could not eat anything before nine o'clock at night, sometimes even eleven. I had time only to take my repast and say tierce, sext, none, vespers and compline, which were finished just at midnight. This present year there have been so many sick in every direction that we hardly know where to go to. Having come one night in August [1811] to attend some sick in St. Louis, I met on returning in the morning, fourteen carts, which were carrying fourteen sick persons quite unconscious and in such imminent danger that I had to stop on the highway and administer to them the last sacraments; and this just in time, for one of them died almost immediately. I myself had the fever very badly and not being able to eat anything, had difficulty in getting to the church, where, finding some little work to do, I was unable to hold out any longer. Two hundred steps from the church my strength gave out and I fell on the street where I remained for more than an hour without any one passing by. Finally four passers-by carried me off."³⁰

While the monastery of Notre Dame Du Secours was thus maintaining a precarious foothold under the shadow of the Big Mound,

²⁸ Dom Urban communicated to Bishop Carroll in 1810 a petition on the part of the people of the Illinois Country for "a good Jesuit missionary." Guillet to Carroll, November 16, 1810.

²⁹ Guillet to Carroll, October 16, 1811.

³⁰ Guillet to Carroll, October 16, 1811.

it was visited by John Reynolds, the future Governor of Illinois, as also by Henry Brackenridge, the traveller and explorer, both of whom have left on record interesting particulars regarding the monks. As far as known, these are the only contemporary accounts at first had of the Trappist establishment in Illinois that have come down to us. It is to be regretted that the monks have not been portrayed for us by observers more sympathetic than these two proved to be; but the real significance of the manner of life practiced by exponents of humanitarian service such as these is not readily grasped from a viewpoint of religious convictions different from those which the monks themselves professed. Be this as it may, both Reynolds and Brackenridge noted points of interest in what they saw. According to Reynolds, the monks made considerable improvements, introducing into the country a good breed of cattle and were, many of them, excellent mechanics. They brought into Illinois the first jack, but so general was the prejudice at that time against mules that the animal was never used for breeding. Many of the monks seen by Reynolds were robust men, badly clothed, but stout and healthy-looking. He noted that they observed silence, pointing at objects when they wished to obtain information. Of Dom Urban he wrote that "he was considered a man of talent and true piety. I have often seen him reading in a book on horseback." The good monk was apparently on these occasions reading his breviary, the official prayer-book of the Catholic clergymen.³¹ Interesting in this connection is a statement, of date some thirty years after the departure of the monks from Illinois, to the effect that they were the first to discover coal in the bluffs east of the Mound. "Their blacksmiths complained of want of proper fuel, and on being informed that the earth at the root of a tree, which was struck by lightning, was burning, they went to the spot and on digging a little below the surface, discovered a vein of coal."³²

Brackenridge's account of the Trappist monastery at the Mound and its inmates is the most detailed extant. The date of his visit was 1811.

"The buildings which the Trappists at present occupy are merely temporary. They consist of four or five cabins on a mound about fifty yards from the large one, and which is about one hundred and fifty feet square. Their other buildings, stables, cribs, etc., ten or fifteen in number, are scattered about on the plain below. I was

³¹ Reynolds, *My Own Times, Embracing also the History of My Life*, p. 99.

³² Thomas and Wild, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

informed that they intended to build on the terrace of the large mound. This will produce a fine effect, especially if painted white; it would be seen five or six miles across the plain, and from some points of view ten or twelve. They have about one hundred acres inclosed in three different fields, including the large mound and several others. On entering the yard I found a number of persons at work, some hauling and storing away the crop of corn, others shaping timber for some intended edifice. A considerable number of these were boys from ten to fourteen years of age. The effect on my mind was inexpressibly strange at seeing them pass and repass in perfect silence. What force must it require to subdue the sportive disposition of boyhood! But nothing is so strong as nature. I admired the cheerful drollery of a poor malatto lad with one leg who was attending the horse-mill. As the other boys passed by, he always contrived by some odd gesticulation to attract their attention. He generally succeeded in exacting a smile. It was a faint gleam of sunshine which seemed to say that their happiness was not entirely obscured by the *lurid gloom* that surrounded them.

"Fatigued with this scene, which I contemplated apparently unobserved, I ascended the mound which contains their dwellings. This is nearly twenty-five feet in height, the ascent aided by a slanting road. I wandered about here for some time in expectation of being noticed. It was in vain that I nodded to the reverend fathers or peeped into the cabins. In the course of fifteen minutes, Father Joseph, a sprightly, intelligent man in the prime of life, who, I learned, had the government of the monastery in the absence of Father Urbain, came up to me, and, after some conversation, invited me into the watchmakers' shop. I was not a little surprised to find here a shop better furnished than any in St. Louis. Part of it was occupied as the laboratory and library; the library, I confess, but indifferent. A few medical works of no great repute, and the rest composed of the dreams of the fathers and the miraculous wonders of the world of saints.

"Two men were at work, and two boys appeared also busily employed. One poor fellow of ten or eleven years of age, seated by a stove and employed in making strokes upon a slate, attracted my attention and pity. He appeared to have just risen from the bed of sickness, or rather from the tomb.

"Father Joseph inquired whether I had dined, and being informed in the negative, had something prepared. My fare was simple, constituting entirely of vegetables, though not less acceptable, for it was given with good will. Having returned thanks to the good fathers for their hospitality, I took my leave."³³

³³ Breckenridge's account, as embodied in Scharf, *History of St. Louis, City and County*, 1:101, is an abridgment of an article contributed by him to the *Missouri Gazette* of St. Louis and reproduced by him *in extenso* as an appendix to his *Views of Louisiana*, pp. 287-291. Though a travesty on Trappist life in its religious aspect, the author expressed surprise that the article gave offense to the "good Fathers."

VI.

Every enterprise to which the well-meaning Trappist Superior had put his hand since coming to America had ended in distressing failure. The issue at Monks Mound was to be no different. With truth could Dom Urban write thence to Bishop Plessis that ever since the year 1805 he had met with reverse on reverse. In 1810 the monks met with a total failure of crops. The same year was marked by a virulent epidemic, very probably of bilious fever, which was a frequently recurring and especially malignant malady in the West in the early decades of the last century. If Bishop Spalding's figures are correct, the Trappists while at the Mound lost by death two priests and five lay-brothers.³⁴ One of the priests was Father Bernard Langlois who died November 28, 1810, the other one being apparently Father Ignace. The former, however, as we learn from Dom Urban, died not of the prevalent fever, but of the stone, from which he had been a sufferer for years.

Letters from the Trappist Superior to Bishop Plessis sketch briefly the epidemic of 1810.

"The country of Louisiana and the Illinois has been visited by a fever which spared few. Many died of it, in particular, five of our brethren. Still, the number of dead is very small in comparison with that of the sick. As almost the entire community was sick, we were reduced to great extremity and obliged to sell a chalice, though we had only two, a part of our altar-furniture and even the anvil of our Brother blacksmith. Seeing that we hadn't strength for all the jobs, I was obliged to have an outsider build a room twenty feet long for our sick and as the price of his labor I gave him a mare. I gave up another mare to get a stove and window-panes for said infirmary. And so, though without money, our sick will be a little better off this winter than they were last. We have four sick-cases left.

My last also announced to you the death of four of my confreres, namely: 1, Brother Isaac, a priest, prior and master-watcher; 2, Brother Eloi, a lay-brother and quarter-master [marechal]; 3, Brother Marie-Joseph, a young Canadian named Desmarais in the world, an excellent workman, who was only an oblate. All three were very necessary to the monastery, for although I have other good watchmakers, I am very much at a loss to find a Prior. I have no other quarter-master and don't know where to get one. The fourth was a young Kentucky child, if not the best, almost the best of the number.'³⁵

³⁴ Spalding, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

³⁵ Guillet to Plessis, November 18, 1810, *La Nouvelle France*, 16:229.

As a consequence of the numerous reverses that overtook them, the Trappists at length fell into a state of acute poverty and distress. Dom Urban informed Bishop Carroll November 16, 1811, that he had been wearing the same cassock or religious habit for thirteen years and using the same bedcover for even a longer period of time. Their dwelling-house was so intensely cold on occasion that the food froze while being served at table. The Superior writes, with obvious distress over the circumstance, that he did not have a dollar to give to one of his lay-brothers, Henry Reiselman, a Hollander, who was about to leave the monastery to enter the Society of Jesus at Georgetown in Maryland.³⁶ Twelve years later, Henry Reiselman returned to the West, being one of Father Van Quickenborne's party of Jesuits who arrived in St. Louis, May 31, 1823, just a century ago, to establish an Indian mission which has since developed into the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus. And so it was that, discouraged and worn out by this final chapter of disappointment and failure, Dom Urban, apparently on his own initiative decided to return East. Dom Augustin arrived in New York in December, 1913, to direct at close range the affairs of his spiritual children in America, while Dom Urban withdrew with his community from the Mound in 1812 according to Governor Reynolds and in March, 1813, according to Bishop Spalding.³⁷ What became of the youths who were being educated by the monks there is nothing in contemporary sources to indicate, though in all probability some of them at least accompanied the monks East as postulants or candidates for the Trappist Order. In 1810 some of their number had been petitioning for admission, but as they were all under eighteen, Dom Urban declined to admit them. Their teacher, a young man of twenty-four, had also expressed his desire to become a Trappist.³⁸ As for the school at the Mound we are not to conclude that it was an entirely blank page in the history of education in Illinois. "A number of pupils from the neighboring towns," wrote Lewis Foulk Thomas in 1841, "resorted to them [the Trappists] for instruction, some of whom are now among the most accomplished merchants and citizens in the entire country."³⁹ From the same authority we have this tribute to the monks. "About twenty-five years have elapsed since these austere fathers abandoned the mounds, but the older inhabitants of the neighborhood still speak of their many acts of kindness and charity and cherish their mem-

³⁶ Guillet to Carroll, November 16, 1811.

³⁷ Spalding, *op. cit.*, p. 174; Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

³⁸ Guillet to Plessis, March 15, 1810 (1811?).

³⁹ Thomas and Wild, *op. cit.*, 55.

ories with the most filial affection." The year after this was written, Charles Dickens visited Monks Mound, afterward penning in his *American Notes* some ill-tempered sentences anent what he calls the fanaticism of the monks, whose philosophy of life he failed sadly to comprehend.⁴⁰

The return journey of the Trappists, a highly adventurous one, was made by keel-boat down the Mississippi and up the Ohio. At Fort Massac they were challenged by the sentries, the War of 1812 being then in progress.⁴¹ In Maryland they met another community of Trappists whom Dom Augustin had sent over from France. These were helped in their effort to make a settlement by the indefatigable Dom Urban, who himself now made a fresh attempt, it would seem, to find a suitable site for his monastery, this time on an island near Pittsburgh. The attempt was no more successful than the previous ones, nor than the final one, which he appears to have made just before his return to France, on a farm at his disposal by Father Quesnel, the Vicar-General of Philadelphia. Meantime, we find Dom Urban early in 1814 in New York, where with Dom Augustin and some brother-monks he conducted a school and asylum for orphan boys in a house recently vacated by the Jesuits who had made in it the unsuccessful experiment of a classical school for boys. The house stood on the site now occupied by St. Patrick's Cathedral on Fifth Avenue, a site described in a contemporary print as the most delightful on Manhattan Island. Here, then, along a suburban road that was to develop into the famous thoroughfare of the world's largest city, Dom Urban and his fellow-monks pursue for a while the rôle of educators. From the Collinsville road in Illinois to Fifth Avenue, New York, is a far cry, but it was a farther cry some hundred and ten years ago when the Trappist Superior led his disheartened followers eastward through the intervening wilderness.⁴²

In October, 1813, Bonaparte went down in decisive overthrow at Leipsic. Then came the Bourbon restoration and the retirement to Elba. It was the signal for the return of Dom Augustin and his exiled followers to France, whither they went with a huge sigh of relief

⁴⁰ Dickens, *American Notes*, Chapter XIII.

⁴¹ Spalding, *op. cit.*, 175.

⁴² *Catholic Encyclopedia* 3:791; The movements of the Trappists after their return to the East are obscure, apart from their stay in New York, of which there is no doubt. The two attempted settlements mentioned in the text are indicated in apparently reliable accounts. At the time Dom Augustine arrived in America, Dom Urban was thinking of acquiring property in Virginia, *La Nouvelle France*, 17:222.

after the incredibly painful chapter of their experiences in the United States. A party of them under Dom Urban sailed from New York, October 24, 1814, in the "Gustavus Adolphus," reaching La Rochelle early in December. That mishap, the inevitable attendant of these Trappist wayfarers, might not be lacking, their ship was cast by a storm on the island of Re, but apparently managed to recover itself and continue its course. Commissioned by his Superior to seek a site for a new La Trappe, Dom Urban began a fresh series of journeys which was interrupted by the return of Napoleon from Elba. The monks promptly scattered to find shelter under the roof of relatives or friends. Dom Urban himself took refuge with his brother in whose house he had the unique consolation of meeting his mother for the first time since infancy. Born in San Domingo and educated in France, Madame Guillet, wealthy Creole, had left the infant Urban in the care of relatives in France to return to her island-home for the settlement of her estate. The infant had grown to manhood and entered La Trappe when Madame Guillet returned to France nor did circumstances ever permit of a meeting between mother and son until at this juncture when Urban found himself a guest under his brother's roof. Providence had fashioned the tissue of events that the son might prepare the mother for the last sad journey. Fortified with the Church's sacraments, received at the hands of her Trappist son, Madame Guillet died May 21, 1815, at the age of seventy-two. The following month the sun of Napoleon's glory suffered definite eclipse at Waterloo and the Hundred Days were over. Dom Urban straightway resumed his quest for a permanent residence for the monks, choice being finally made of Bellefontaine (Maine et Loire) an old monastery of Feuillants, in the immediate vicinity of Cholet, which was itself only two hours distant from Nantes, the birth-place of Urban Guillet. Two years had been spent in the search and a considerable sum of money begged up and down the country. Preparations were being made to negotiate the purchase and the money, carefully concealed in his saddle-bags, was being taken by Urban for safe-keeping to his brother's house. Surely the hand of Providence had never rested lightly on Dom Urban. And now, as the day of his earthly wayfaring drew to a close, it pressed on him of a sudden with especial rigor. He had stopped at an inn for refreshment in the course of the journey of which we just made mention when, on remounting his horse, he discovered to his horror that a thief had rifled the contents of the saddle-bags and made away with the money. The fruit of two years' toilsome begging through the cities and villages of France had vanished in a moment. One feels sure that the in-

domitable Abbot rose superior even to this crushing reverse. But it was the final tax levied on his apparently inexhaustible fund of patience. He had run his course. Following close on the heels of the incident just related a mortal illness, aftermath of the unnumbered physical hardships and exposures he had known, overtook him and he died at a hospital in Cholet, April 2, 1817. Around his pathetic figure is written a chapter of fascinating interest in the story of nascent Catholicism in the United States, while the name Monks Mound passing down the years assures to the residence of him and his heroic followers in Illinois soil a place among the historic memories of that great commonwealth.⁴³

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The chief manuscript sources drawn upon for this sketch of the Trappists of Monks' Mound are the letters of Dom Urban Guillet, of which there are some thirty divided almost evenly between the Archdiocesan archives of Baltimore and those of Quebec. For the Quebec letters the author has relied on certified copies obtained directly from the archives or else on the texts as reproduced in the Canadian periodical, *La Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1911-1918). Some unpublished letters of Father S. T. Badin (Baltimore Archdiocesan Archives) have also afforded data. Printed accounts, (most of them treating the settlement at Monks' Mound as an incident only in the general fortunes of the French Trappists in the United States), are: Flick, *The French Refugee Trappists in the United States in Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, I:86-116; Spalding, *Sketches of Kentucky*, 162-195; Maes, *Life of*

⁴³ *La Nouvelle France*, 17:227 *et seq.* It is pleasant to consider that Dom Urban's almost life-long efforts to establish a fixed home for his community were in the end crowned with success. Despite the loss of the money he had collected, Bellefontaine par Saint-Leger-sous-Cholet came into the possession of his fellow-monks either before or shortly after his decease, and of this new La Trappe, maintained down to our own day, Dom Urban is gratefully remembered in Trappist history as the valiant and illustrious founder. To Bellefontaine as parent-stock Canada owes the three Cistercian foundations of Notre-Dame-du-Lac. (Oka) Quebec, Notre-Dame-des-Prairies (Saint Norbert, Manitoba) and Notre-Dame-de-Mistassini, an offshoot of Oka. In 1910 Dom Jean-Marie Chouteau, Abbot of Bellefontaine (1911), visited the houses of his order in Canada. Dom Urban, as the reader may recall, was for a space the only clergyman serving Laclede's young settlement of St. Louis; and so, by a curious association, we find the Abbot of the La Trappe of Bellefontaine, Dom Urban Guillet's foundation, bearing the name of the most historic family in the pioneer history of the metropolis of the Mississippi Valley.

Father Nerinckx, 100-112; Webb, *History of Catholicity in Kentucky*, Louisville, 1884, 191-199; *Epistle or Diary of Father Joseph Dunand* in *Records of the American Historical Society*, 26:328-346, 27:45-64 (tr. from French by Ella M. E. Flick); Thomas and Wild, *The Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated in a Series of Views*, St. Louis, 1841, pp. 52-56; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 3:786-791; Scharf, *History of St. Louis, City and County*, I:102 (Brackenridge's account); Reynolds, *My Own Times, embracing also the History of My Life*, Belleville, 1855, p. 99; Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 458; Garraghan, *St. Ferdinand de Florissant: The Story of an Ancient Parish*, Chicago, 1923; Gaillardin, *Histoire de la Trappe; Dom Augustin de Lestrangle et les Trappists pendant la Revolution (Grande Trappe)* 1898; *Vie du R. P. Urbain Guillet*, Montligen, 1899; Abbé Lionel St. George Lindsay, *Un Precurseur de la Trappe du Canada: Dom Urbain Guillet* in *La Nouvelle France*, (Quebec 1911-1918).

HISTORY IN THE PRESS

LINCOLN VINDICATED

(By Associated Press)

Jacksonville, Ill., October 19.—In answer to critics of Abraham Lincoln that he used an out-of-date almanac to obtain the acquittal of "Duff" Armstrong, Capt. H. Weaver, who attended the famous murder trial retold the story here while attending the Centennial pageant.

"When the trial of 'Duff' Armstrong for the murder of Chris. Metzger came on I was a resident of Beardstown and was 22 years old," Captain Weaver said. "James Morris was found guilty and sentenced to from eight or ten years in the penitentiary. Subsequently Hannah Armstrong, mother of 'Duff,' secured Abraham Lincoln to defend her son.

"Lincoln was able to secure a change of venue from the circuit court at Havana to the Cass County court at Beardstown, and the trial was held at the May term in 1858.

"I attended every session of the trial, which lasted three or four days. Judge Fuller, the State's attorney of Mason County, and Judge Henry Shaw, an attorney of Beardstown, were the attorneys for the prosecution and the presiding judge was Judge Harriett of Pekin.

"Armstrong and his comrade were accused of the killing of Metzger in Mason County at night. It was charged that the altercation started over some liquor being dispensed from a wagon at a camp meeting, five miles southwest of Mason County, and that Armstrong used a neck yoke with which he struck Metzger.

"This particular trial brought many attorneys to Beardstown. I knew personally all of the jurors and they were men of more than average intelligence. Not more than two of them were beyond forty years of age.

"At the time that Lincoln began his defense the State had built up a seemingly strong case against Armstrong, based largely upon the testimony of a witness named Allen. In his cross-examination Lincoln asked Allen at what time of the night the crime was committed and the reply was after dark, but in the early part of the night. He asked the witness how he was able to see and Allen testified that from the light of candles on the wagon in which the men had whiskey and from moonlight he was able to see the attack made.

"Then Lincoln produced an almanac and showed that the moon

did not rise until between 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning. He handed the almanac to Milton Logan, the foreman of the jury, and asked him to pass it along to the other jurors."

Captain Weaver says it is unthinkable that the attorneys for the prosecution, who were trained men, that the members of the jury, and the court, would have permitted Lincoln to use an out-of-date almanac.

Captain Weaver served in the civil war and at one time was a member of the legislature.

RECALL SALE OF U. S. GRANT'S BIG FARM IN MISSOURI

(By Associated Press)

St. Louis, October 2.—With the season of farm sales in progress, old residents of this section recall a notable sale on the farm of President U. S. Grant, ten miles west of St. Louis, just fifty years ago.

President Grant ordered the sale after an inspection of the farm on an extended tour of the West. The 600 acre estate, known as White Haven Farm, included the old Dent place, where his wife lived as a girl and where the future President spent several years as a struggling farmer before the Civil War gave him his great opportunity.

Grant had added numerous improvements to the place and, lover of good horses that he was, had stocked it with fine thorobreds and harness horses, many with aristocratic pedigrees.

But farm expenditures were far outrunning the income, which Grant said was due to his inability to give the place his personal attention. He decided to hold a sale and quit farming, regardless of sacrifice. That, at least, would put a stop to further losses. And a sacrifice it was, one amounting almost to tragedy, for it brought a heavy loss which Grant could ill afford.

Several hundred persons gathered at the farm the morning of the sale. Judge Lanham of St. Louis, was the auctioneer and the first bids he called for were on the famous trotting stallion Claymore. This horse was bid in for Grant at \$2,500. But Young Hambeltonian, another fine trotting stallion, was sold for a mere \$125, while other mares of superior breeding went for even less. Topsey, a beautiful animal that had been given the President by the Russian ambassador, was led away for a mere \$50. The famous Nellie Grant team was a pathetic sacrifice. Bought by the President for \$1,100, they sold for a fraction of their value, Queane bringing \$42.50 and Lady Morgan \$70.

When the "Vicksburg mare," so called because Grant had ridden her in the Vicksburg campaign, was led out, the first bid was only \$10. Aged as she was, it seems as if she would have commanded a substantial sum if only for sentimental reasons. But \$56 was the highest bid. Only a shadow of his former proud self, Old Joe, the general's saddle horse before the war, was taken by a negro for a ten dollar bill.

Forty acres of standing corn sold for only \$6.50 an acre, while wagons, plows and a great collection of farm implements brought the merest fraction of their actual worth. A lot of hay then went under the hammer at a bargain and the sacrifice was complete.

DAKOTA SIOUX INDIANS GREET BLACKROBE, A JESUIT SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS

St. Francis, S. D., October 2.—Surrounded by thousands of Sioux Indians who look upon him as the "Beloved Blackrobe," the Rev. Florentine Digman, S. J., celebrated the diamond jubilee of his entrance into the Society of Jesus yesterday. The celebration was held at St. Francis Mission, where Father Digmann has been stationed for thirty-nine years.

On Christmas Day, seventy-nine years ago, Father Digmann was born at Heilingenstadt in Eihsfeldt, Germany. At nineteen, he entered the Society of Jesus at Friedrichsburg, Westphalia. Coming to this country in 1880, he spent two years at Canisius College, Buffalo, and four at what is now Campion Preparatory School at Prairie du Chien, Wis.

On August 5, 1886, Father Digmann arrived at St. Francis with reinforcements for what was then a struggling mission. Where now stands the great concrete plant with a capacity for 500 children, Father Digmann found only two small frame buildings and two sod barns on a boundless grass-covered prairie. One building housed the Sisters, the other sheltered the Jesuits and the children, besides providing space for the laundry, carpentry, blacksmith and shoemaker shops.

WON INDIANS BY KINDNESS

Overcoming a multitude of difficulties set up by race prejudice, religious hatred and savagery, Father Digmann patiently labored with the Indians until he had guided them to civilization and Christianity and, assisted by Indians, changed St. Francis Mission from lowly dwelling to perhaps the largest mission school in the United States.

Thousands of his beloved Indains came to the mission to join in the celebration. Solemn High Mass with Father Digbann as celebrant opened the festivities. After the Mass a reception was held in the auditorium where all the Indians had the opportunity of shaking hands with Putin Sapa, Black Beard, as is the custom.

At the invitation of the Rev. Joseph A. Zimmerman, S. J., who last year succeeded Father Digmann as superior of the mission, a group of twenty-six boys from St. Louis and other cities came to St. Francis Mission for their vacation last summer and established the first Catholic "Dude Ranch."

This ranch, which has been named Camp DeSmet, was organized at the suggestion of the Rev. Leo Cunningham, S. J., of Cleveland, a former scholastic at the mission.

Probably no boys' camp or ranch has the perfection of equipment which St. Francis Mission put at the disposal of Camp DeSmet. The boys enjoyed all the recreational facilities of a modern boarding school, including basketball, tennis, baseball, radio, movies, pool, and library.

Added to these were horseback riding, polo, rifle range, archery, swimming, hunting, and camping trips to the colorful Indian Tribal Fourth of July celebration, the Black Hills, Bad Lands, and the rodeo at White River, S. D.

To live in the exciting land of the Indians and mingling with the Indians was real adventure to these young American boys.

The camp will be made an annual affair.

Three Ohioans, W. Toomey and W. Birmingham, both of Cleveland, and G. Warth, Massillon, were among the Jesuit scholastics who accompanied the boys on their hikes.

OLD CATHEDRAL AT ST. LOUIS, MO., ROUNDS OUT CENTURY OF SERVICE OCT. 26

St. Louis.—(Special.)—The Old St. Louis Cathedral, one of the noted landmarks of this city and the entire Mississippi Valley, has rounded out nearly a century of service. Situated at Second and Walnut Streets, in a section of the metropolis now surrounded by busy factories and facing a narrow, cobble-stoned street where noisy trucks clatter along with heavy loads, the historic structure is not easily found. One must pay careful attention to the street markings or he may pass it by, so unobtrusively does it sit in its hemmed-in boundaries.

Years ago there was a great host of parishioners, before the city built away from the river front, but now these have dwindled to a scattered few. Yet this ancient house of worship does not lack for crowds, for scores visit its shrine daily. Some of them come out of curiosity's sake, to look upon its scarred columns and glistening interior, while others are parishioners of former years who must return periodically to their favorite church.

HISTORIC SIGHT

The building, which was consecrated by Bishop Rosati October 26, 1834, is erected on the site where Father Pierre Gibault celebrated the first Mass ever said in St. Louis. The present structure is the fourth church erected on the square of ground dedicated by Laclède to church purposes. The first was a log chapel built in 1770. This was supplanted five years later with a better one. Still a third one, of brick, was started in 1818 and dedicated in 1820, when Missouri was being admitted to the Union.

PRESENT STRUCTURE BEGUN IN 1831

The present structure was begun in 1831 and its completion three years later was celebrated with great enthusiasm. Three bishops came by stage from Cincinnati to participate in the consecration and militia from the Government barracks aided in the ceremonies. With its four stately Doric columns, its three wide doors and its 40-foot spire, the church was considered a thing of architectural beauty. It is 136 feet long and 84 feet wide and in a splendid state of preservation. Although its front looks a trifle battle-scarred, the side walls, three feet thick, look as strong and nearly as fresh as they did 100 years ago.

HUNDRED YEAR OLD ALTAR

Within the structure is the same throne as that used by Bishop Rosati a century ago, still in use, and the same altar, above which towers stately decorative columns. On the walls hang paintings more than a century old, having been brought from France and donated by royalty. Among these is the Madonna, St. Louis of France and St. Bartholomew's Death. The organ, which is noted for its sweet tone, has been in use for eighty-five years and the bells in the steeple, that toll the hour of services, were brought from France in 1818.

SACRISTY RECORDS FROM 1766 ON

In a locked safe in the office of the pastor, Father Paul C. Schulte, are records of marriages, baptisms and deaths extending back to 1766. These books, nearly all well preserved, are written in French. Many of the witnesses and contracting parties to marriages, being unable to write, placed their cross-marks in the record book. There are about 36,000 baptisms and 15,000 marriages recorded in these documents, which were kept complete until the city in 1860 took over the compiling of such statistics.

PREVENTS MASSACRE BY INDIANS

The second church, that was erected in 1775, may be regarded as having saved the village of St. Louis from destruction by Indians. An Indian force, which evidently had been waiting to catch the inhabitants off their guard, opened an attack on May 26, 1780. Several farmers, who had gone to their fields, not far from the fort erected near Fourth and Broadway, were set upon by the savages and five of the whites killed. Others made their escape and the Indians, fearing to pursue, retreated. It was later learned that the savages had expected to find most of the male population, then listed as 97, tilling or planting crops. Finding this not true, they attacked those they found and retreated. May 25, the day before the attack, having been Corpus Christi, most of the St. Louisans took part in extending services and therefore rested the next day instead of going into the fields.

The front of this church also was used in 1778 as a place for a public apology made by one Baptiste Menard to Mrs. Theresa Charon. Menard admitted making derogatory remarks about Mrs. Charon but said he was under the influence of drink. He not only apologized at the church door for his statements, but spent fifteen days in jail as an added penalty imposed by the Lieutenant-Governor. And the action was prompt. Within two days after the case originated, the apology had been made and Menard was serving his time in jail.—*Daily American Tribune, Sunday, Oct. 4, 1925.*

FIFTY YEARS IN AMERICAN HOSPITAL SERVICE

The Hospital Sisters of St. Francis of Springfield, Ill.

A VISIT TO SAINT MAURITZ THE SISTERS' HEADQUARTERS IN GERMANY

“Mid the silent hush of cloister
Where vesper anthems swell,
In deeds of love and kindness
A band of virgins dwell.”

These lines most graphically depict the community home in which the daughters of St. Francis dwell. It is situated at St. Mauritz, a suburb of the ancient and venerable city of Muenster in Westfalia, a city of historic renown and commercial importance, one of the three provincial government seats. Its location is an ideal one. Flower, fruit and vegetable gardens surround it, well trimmed evergreen hedges flank the road that leads from the main thoroughfare up to it. On a quiet early summer morning when nature is still mantled in the fresh and fragrant garb of dawn, the dulcet notes of the nightingale may be heard. In close proximity to the convent home stands the parish church, a venerable pile, whose beginnings reach away back into centuries that antedate the Reformation times. A former American ecclesiastical seminary which principally in the seventies was in such flourishing condition, sending annually scores of young priests into our American mission fields, has in latter years been diverted from its original purposes and turned into secular use. Fronting the hedge-enclosed lane one passes a cozy-looking two-story brick house. It is the dwelling place of the convent's Chaplain, which for more than forty-seven years had been the hospitable home of that fatherly Director of the community, the late lamented Msgr. Theo. Ross.

In the spacious garden some of the good Sisters may be seen at work during all hours of the day, and all days of the season from early till late, planting, weeding, watering and pruning. The work does not seem to fatigue them nor the long hours to weary them. The same pleasant smile, so expressive of interior contentment, greets one at all times. Wandering aimlessly one morning amid beautiful flower beds, through garden paths lined with rows of dwarf boxwood, admiring the Sisters' splendid horticulture, my steps were arrested by

the exquisite singing of a bird. My heart thrilled and throbbed with excitement as I listened to the sweet song of a nightingale for which I had vainly yearned so long. Off from the garden, passing through a small wicket, the visitor at once stands on consecrated ground. It is the Sisters' cemetery. One approaches it with awe and reverence. Row upon row the little mounds rise slightly upon the surface, each supporting a wooden cross with name and date of deceased inscribed upon it. Here God's own heroines rest from their arduous toil. Many of them have faced the horrors of war and pestilence or fallen victims to infectious disease, whilst others had succumbed to physical exhaustion caused by over exertion in the discharge of sacred duties. The outside world little knows and less appreciates a Sister's self-sacrificing life for sweet charity's sake; but an omniscient God is witness thereof and the pencil in the hands of His angel records her unmitigated deeds of corporal and spiritual works of mercy in golden letters upon the pages of the book of life. Retracing one's steps from the "City of the Dead," where holy peace and solemn silence undisturbedly reign, the vision is confronted by the imposing structure of St. Francis' Hospital and convent, the mother-house and headquarters of the order.

Yes, there are the good Franciscan Sisters, from whose ranks in 1875 the intrepid twenty were chosen to act as pioneer workers of their Order in far off America.

THE VALIENT TWENTY

Economy and frugality are two primarily essential qualities and decisive factors that eagerly contribute toward the contentment and happiness of people. Our Franciscan Sisters revel in an abundance of these requisites for a happy life, hence their contentment in cloistered seclusion and hospital service. Luxuries and superfluities are to them but as so much lumber and unnecessary ballast to be thrown overboard; for them a plain habit of sombre color, a rosary, a book of meditation and a breviary, and a pallet whereon to enjoy a night's well-earned rest, behold the earthly possessions of a religious. To her the boat of life, therefore, is always light, packed only with what is mainly needed. And she finds the boat easier to navigate and less liable to upset, and it will not matter so much if it does upset. Good, plain merchandise will stand water. The Sister, then, has time to think, work and pray, also some spare moments to drink in life's sunshine and to listen to the Aeolian music, which the wind of God draws from the human heartstrings around her. The world underestimates the real pure joy there is in the life of one who has re-

nounced the frivolities and illusions and deceptions of the world because the world does not know, whereas God has rich compensations in store for that soul. "Relinquimur omnia et secuti sumus te" the good nuns could exclaim with the Apostles of our Lord, the moment they donned the religious habit. Free from all earthly possessions and undue attachment, then it is but small wonder that when the Mother Superior called for volunteers for the new American mission that practically all clamored for the privilege of going. There glistened tears of joy at this pathetic moment in the eyes of good Mother Bernardine. Probably there had never come such a wave of holy enthusiasm, loyalty and fervor over the community and its individual members as was manifest on this occasion. Yet the number to be chosen was to be a limited one. After much prayerful consideration and carefully gauging the qualifications of those to be selected for this all-important task, the names of the pioneer Sisters who were to sail for America were the following:

Mother Angelica, Superioress	Sister Augustina
Sister Cyrilla	Sister Crispina
Sister Henrietta	Sister Cassiana
Sister Eupehnia	Sister Fortunata
Sister Jovita	Sister Zosima
Sister Basilia	Sister Macaria
Sister Aurelia	Sister Francisca
Sister Fridoline	Sister Sylvana
Sister Gerburgis	Sister Ulrica
Sister Rosa	Sister Rolendis.

THE SURVIVORS OF OUR DEAR OLD PIONEER SISTERS

About the memories of these old pioneer Sisters there gleams a double halo of saintly life and personal charm. But alas! we have but a few of the once sturdy trail-blazers of their order surviving the fifty years of hard and persistent labor left with us, the majority having long since gone to their eternal reward. Those still in our midst are: Sisters Fridoline, Crispina, Cassiana, Frances, Sylvana and Macaria. In their earnest and pensive lives one can readily read the story of these past five decades which have been told off from time's great rosary and left their impressions upon their now frail and exhausted bodies. Night vigils in the sick-rooms, excessive manual labor in laundry, kitchen and garden, denials and privations, —all these causes combined to undermine the former robust constitutions of the twenty, most consigned to rather premature graves, dying

in the very prime of vigorous womanhood. They lived to make a better, brighter and happier world, not so much for themselves as for others, the sick, poor strangers in need of aid and comfort. This God-given and God-consecrated work was to be continued and propagated by the younger and more robust members of the order. It is wonderful to behold how the tiny seeds scattered by the twenty have fructified and multiplied during the half century now elapsed. Out of small and humble beginnings has grown forth a Community that today counts its members by the hundreds, scattered over two States, developing their consecrated vocational activities within the shelter of thirteen well-equipped hospitals. And the spirit of self-effacement continues to abide in them all. Their unassuming lives proclaim eloquently to a material and sensuous world the daily practice of the Cardinal virtues of their religious vows—Poverty, Chastity and Obedience. They all have become docile scholars of that school over which the spirit of the pioneer Sisters still continues to hover, the school that teaches them self-immolation and love of neighbor without reserve. It's the spirit of St. Francis. This quiet and gentle influence over the junior Sisters has resulted in so attracting and fastening the fibres of love, confidence and veneration for the former that anything of a serious nature occurring to them would be considered in the light of fatality to the whole Community. In fine, the record of their generous devotion will for all time remain an inspiring example for others to follow and emulate.

“Though the road be rough and toilsome
And the thorns pierce sharp and deep
Their Master's smile will cheer them
And make the burden sweet.

“Like a cluster of sweet scented flowers
They wear their lives away
Laying them down for their Master
In Charity's mission each day.”

“Till wasted, wan, exhausted,
They sink to rise no more;
A whispered prayer, a sigh of love,
Then death, and all is o'er.

“As the lily closes its petals
When fades the light of day
Only to open on the morrow
More pure, more fair than aye.”

THE SHIP DEPARTS

The steamer that was destined to carry our party of Sisters to the shores of the New World, was lying at anchor ready to depart at the given signal. A hurry and scurry of kaleidoscopic changes was to be witnessed on board, a picture generally seen when the hour of a vessel's departure draws near. Clanging of chains, hoisting of anchor, the straining of hawsers, the frantic onrushing mob of emigrant passengers, the lacrimose parting of relatives, the measured command of Captain and officers,—all this contributes to the interest of the hour. The name of the vessel was "Maas." She was an old seagoing vessel, but still seaworthy, one that had crossed the Atlantic many a time with marked success. Her name was favorably known among the voyaging public, hence the cabin and steerage accommodations were in constant demand. Years afterwards, it is said, this steamer foundered and was lost at sea. All the transatlantic boats of the Holland Line have gained for themselves an enviable reputation. Today they easily compare and compete with the best liners in their treatment of passengers, in swiftness of speed, safety of construction, trustworthiness of navigation and cheapness of rates. All these factors combine to induce many a prospective traveler to secure a passage on a Holland steamer in preference to any other. In those early days of fifty years ago, however, these vessels were not of that palatial type we are wont to meet today. Measuring on average between 300 to 400 feet in length with corresponding tonnage they were slow of speed, consuming some twenty days in making the trip between the Old and New World. Moreover their propelling power was not exclusively limited to steam, but in addition thereto liberal use of unfurled canvas sails was made. The *Hi Ho Hi* was the daily chorus-accompaniment when the sails were hoisted to the breezes by the weather-bronzed seamen.

When everything was ready for departure the Captain signaled, officers repeated the signal to the engineers and firemen and then slowly, carefully did the floating ark feel her way down the stream till she knew herself in unobstructed waters, clear of any hindrance. Our band of Sisters had approached the deck-railing to cast a last lingering look upon city and country beyond which they knew was their own beloved home where fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters in spirit followed the departing Religieuses, their own daughters and sisters, on their way to the foreign land, America. The sorrowful farewell at this ominous hour was, however, not so much direct at their distant homes in heather-bound Erika's land than it

was centered upon a lonely figure clad as themselves in Sister's garb. Benevolent of countenance, a heart filled with tenderest sympathy and love for our departing twenty, she stood there leaning against the pier, her eyes moist with tears, waving and always waving a tender "adieu" to the receding steamer and its precious freight, principally to our Sisters. Their hearts, in turn, were touched well-nigh to the breaking point and ever and anon did they fondly return her farewell salutation till she had almost faded from view. Who was this heart-stricken elderly lady who showed so much maternal interest and love for our travelers? Ven. Mother General, dear Sister Bernardine, who had left the convent-home in Muenster, journeyed with the Sisters to Rotterdam to attend to their last needs and comforts, and now had come to the ship's pier to see them safely aboard; from an old log on which she had seated herself she bade them God-speed on their long and perilous journey. The inner emotions and her soul's agitation at this parting hour did not ruffle the lines of her sweet countenance, nor rob her of her dignity and grace. She admirably controlled her feelings of dejection in order to spare those of her Sisters. She remained beautifully serene, permitting her kindly eyes to wander from one to another, thereby creating joy in those upon whom they fell. And those last consoling words of admonition, encouragement and good cheer, how deeply did they sink into their hearts, how sacredly have they treasured them ever afterwards. They knew that their dear Mother's very heartstrings were knit up with those of her children. It was an extremely pathetic situation.

And what fervent prayers must that dear soul have sent up to heaven that God's protective power might shield and guard them and that St. Raphael ward off all harm and danger from body and soul of her beloved protégés and to safely conduct them to their destination at Alton, Illinois. With varied feelings and sentiments that may easier be imagined than described, the now forlorn Mother Superior returned, sad of heart to her anxiously awaiting community at Muenster. Not a day passed by but the entire sisterhood were repeatedly repaired to the chapel to fervently pray for their dear voyageuses, who then were so cruelly exposed to the elements and dangers of the deep until three weeks later a cable message flashed the great and joyous news of their happy landing at New York. At once the bell summoned all to the convent chapel where with grateful hearts all the Sisters joined in the "Te Deum."

Whilst rocking on the deep these twenty brave and courageous daughters of St. Francis underwent experiences which it is happily not the lot of many to undergo. But before we proceed to cite from

the diary which the foresight of good Sister Crispina had dictated her to keep and to quote from the pages of the book of memory opened for this purpose by some of the still surviving members, we must first of all return to our heroic missionary Sisters who were now cooped together with several hundred other passengers in the rather limited Ark "Maas." Second class accommodations had been reserved for them. Thither they went to take an inventory of themselves and their surroundings. Yes, these were to be their rooms, narrow, like cells of the convent, the bunks or berths placed one above the other, strapped and fastened to partition walls. A wash basin, a folding chair, behold the entire furnishings of their luxurious compartments. Yet in those far off days this was deemed all sufficient for a temporary home on board ship lasting but a few weeks. And as humble Franciscan Sisters they cheerfully accepted conditions as they and others found them, smiling at so many glaring inconveniences that presented themselves at every turn and move they made. And yet how much better did they fare in their second class cabin than did the poor people in the hold or steerage. Huddled together in cramped and crowded quarters where the air became stifling, promiscuously sleeping either on the bare floor or on straw ticks, drinking out of tin cups that seldom were rinsed beneath the water faucet, meals dished out of a common bowl, such were the conditions that prevailed half a century ago on ocean liners. Since then, however, they have undergone a thorough change, and been greatly ameliorated, for the second class passage of those days is equal and equivalent to steerage of today whilst prices up to the outbreak of the world war remained the same.

It being the time of the Bismarckean era, which, as we have seen, culminated in the Church's persecution and expulsion of religious Orders, it seemed then by no means strange that besides our own exiled Sisters there were also members from other Orders or Congregations on board. Thus it happened that whilst our Sisters had climbed the steep and narrow stairway to get a sniff of the invigorating sea breeze on deck, they encountered two priests and members of other Orders, likewise bound as they were, for free and tolerant America, where Bismarck's imperious dictum did not count a copper.

The unaccustomed, overwhelming sights of nature, the ocean's vast expanse and grandeur majestically rolling on and on, casting wave upon wave, billow upon billow before their enraptured vision, occupied and excited their strained minds, helping to lift the depression into which separation from home and country had plunged them. (Nay, they now even welcomed the new era of life which was dawning for them.) Yet, notwithstanding the sublime panorama that lay

spread out before them, many a secret tear, nevertheless, escaped their moistened eyes, falling unseen from eyelash trickling down the pallid cheek. Their hearts were sorely tried. But the reason for embarking had been actuated by such noble intentions and purposes and unselfish ends that the very thought of soon exercising the duties of their holy vocation in the New World, ministering to the poor, suffering and dying far outweighed any considerations of personal regret. Voluntarily, yea joyously they had offered their services for the American mission. Hence a total abandon to God's holy will occupied their uppermost thoughts. A prayer for safe landing was their daily occupation. From the very day of entrance into community life religious are taught the lessons of sacrifice and self-denial; they are schooled in the school of their divine Master who beckons them to follow Him not only on the road that leads to the glories of Easter morning but also that points out the way to Calvary. At an early date these devoted Sisters become inured to hardships and they know how to bear them bravely and meet them unflinchingly, for the rest placing unbounded confidence in God's timely help. And He does not forsake His own. When aid and support and strength of grace is needed He sends them rays of light into their troubled souls and refreshing balm into their afflicted hearts, thereby wonderfully lifting them to heights of interior peace and contentment, causing the seemingly heavy burden to become sweet and easy.

The coreligious whom they met on deck and who were bound to the same haven of refuge as themselves, the "Land of the free," sailed partly from Caesfeld and partly from Salzkotten in Westfalia. The former were members of that great illustrious teaching community of Notre Dame Sisters whose schools are favorably known for their efficiency throughout the length and breadth of the land and to whose educational qualifications thousands of men and women owe their success in life because of their superior early training they received from them. The latter mentioned Sisters were members of the widespread Franciscan family. This particular branch of Franciscan Sisters, still young of organization, has rapidly grown into popularity by reason of their thoroughness and efficiency in school and hospital work. Their Motherhouse is at St. Anthony's Hospital, St. Louis.

It was with no small sense of relief, then, that these Sisters met on board steamer at the outset of their journey. Mutual sympathies for one another united them into one unit, as the same causes which occasioned their expatriation prevailed for each and all. This happy encounter with members of different sisterhoods proved a real source

of gratification during the entire trip. Another factor that naturally added to their sense of relief and security proved to be the presence of two priests aboard, one a Secular, Father Sailer, the other a Regular, a Benedictine from Einsiedeln, Rev. Father Chrysostom, who in later years acted for some time as assistant pastor at the Cathedral of Belleville.

SOME HAPPY, QUIET HOURS AT SEA

Life on board ship is by no means monotonous, especially not to the neophyte in travelling; on the contrary, there are so many diversions and distractions that it becomes a real pleasure. Two classes of companions which remain with the ship the greater part throughout her journey are constant sources of interest and amusement, viz, dolphins or porpoises and sea gulls. Myriads of the former may be seen chasing each other, darting to and fro, always on a jump and dive and checkering the dark waters with their glossy, shining bodies. No sooner has one shoal of these dexterous acrobats been left behind or turned into different direction, than others still more numerous bob up in their places. These free gymnastic exhibitions of the ponderous dwellers of the deep awaken keen delight and undivided interest in the unwearied beholder; their presence fascinates and contributes to dispel, if even for the time being, any mental gloom and depression which may have been occasioned by the farewell-bidding of home and native land. Did our Sisters enjoy the funny antics enacted free of charge by the multitude of these submarines? Sister Fridoline will assure one that for hours at a time she and her companions as well as the rest of the passengers fairly hung upon the railing untiringly gazing at this novel sight of aquatic sport. And then there were the swarms of sea-gulls, flashes of white, flying close to the ship, dipping to the crest of a wave, or fiercely swooping down upon swill and refuse dumped upon the waters by cook and steward. Though raucous and harsh of voice these fine birds are of majestic, graceful wing. When not vociferously contending for the garbage, they describe pretty semi-circles before alighting on the waves. Their homes are built on distant ocean islands, amid craggy mountain sides, secure from the greedy hand of man.

Shortly after leaving anchorage and sailing up the channel, our good Sisters' attention rested upon lighthouses, buoys and light ships, those necessary guide and warning signs so indispensable to the mariner for safe navigation. Coming chiefly from inland towns our band of Sisters was naturally somewhat mystified at their meaning. In the evening after twilight had set in and the vessel steamed past a

number of lighthouses, they soon understood their nature and object; they saw how from great cyclopean eyes of the revolving mirror disks of the lantern there shot forth a flood of elongated beams of light upon the darkened waters warning sailormen of treacherous rocks near at hand. The law prescribes that the light must burn bright in the lantern of each lighthouse from sunset to sunrise. The lighthouses appeared in their straight, slender, cone shaped architecture as so many minarets transplanted from Turkey or Egypt on the ocean's shore or on some ragged ledge or barren rock amid the billowy waves. They likewise interested themselves in the nature and use of buoys which may be seen floating at anchorage in any direction before entering the open ocean. They soon learned that the buoy is to the seaman by day what the light is by night, and what the fog-signals are in thick, murky weather. It tells him by its size, form, color and number how to avoid rocks and shoals, and shows the way in and out of the harbor. They likewise passed a number of light-ships rocking on the waves and tugging at her anchor chains. Their purpose, so they were informed, is to do the work of a lighthouse in places where one is necessary but where it has not been erected because of the great difficulty, not to say expense, of such a structure.

Here on board ship our band of Sisters tried to conform to the rules of Convent life as well as circumstances would permit. Rising at an early hour, they would have Morning prayers and Meditation in common. They breakfasted, luncheoned and dined at the same table. Bunched together in some protected spot on deck, they would recite their office, rosary and litany, invariably finishing these pious exercises with some sacred hymn to the Blessed Virgin Mary, such as: "Maria zu lieben," "Sei gegruesst Du Koenigin," etc. It is needless to say that Fathers Sailer and Chrysostom, their fellow passengers, heartily joined in with them. Whilst these sacred strains floated over the sea, Captain, crew and passengers reverentially would group about them, silently listening to these beautiful German hymns and sincerely thanking the Sisters for these edifying moments out on the deep. At other times they would occupy themselves with needlework and paying an occasional visit to the poor sick in the steerage, where their coming was always greeted with manifest signs of sincerest welcome. What is said here of our emigrant Sisters applies with equal force to their companions, the Notre Dame and Salzkotten Sisters, all being inseparably united by common bonds of sympathy and religious life, forming but one great, harmonious family.

Mentioning the Franciscan Salzkotten Sisters it is pertinent here to advert to the awful catastrophe which overtook five of them a few

weeks later. They had embarked on the steamer "Deutschland" December 5, 1875, bound for St. Louis, Mo. Shortly after leaving her anchorage, the steamer encountered a most violent hurricane accompanied by a blinding snow storm which hourly increased in fury and velocity. A prey to the waves, the great liner drifted next morning helplessly and hopelessly upon the rocks near Harwich on the English coast. The steamer sank; fifty lives were lost, among them the noble band of Sisters. One of them was carried out to sea whilst the bodies of the remaining four were washed ashore where loving hands picked them up and prepared them for burial. Two English Franciscan Fathers conveyed these unfortunate victims of the Sea to Stratford, where on December 13th a great funeral demonstration took place. His Eminence Cardinal Manning presided over the obsequies and delivered a touching eulogy. Fifteen priests and numerous members of religious orders were present, whilst upwards of forty thousand people had come to view the remains of these innocent victims of Bismarck's tyranny and relentless persecution. They were: Sisters Barbara, Henrica, Norberta, Aurea, and Brigitta.

ON THE OCEAN

Mal de Mer and Storm at Sea

On the following afternoon, October 17th, the Sisters, having had a pleasant forenoon with a quiet refreshing rest on the unruffled waters, were sailing the North Sea. Any traveller knows what doleful experiences the North Sea subjects the uninitiated and timid "hinter-lander" to and what direful things there are in store for him. The heretofore buoyant spirits lose their vaunted bravery, the "kink" is taken out of them, their thermometer sinks lower and lower as the hours pass until they sink utterly annihilated into the grip of "Mal de Mer" or seasickness. This state of collapse coupled with horrid feeling should not be spared our little band. The placid water's surface of a few hours ago had become agitated and restless, whitecaps had formed whose spray soon tossed over the heads of those on deck, threatening to give them a good drenching. The party of Sisters had sought shelter in the lee of the deck-house where they soon learned, however, that the trifling inconvenience of mist and spray was as nothing when compared to that uncomfortable feeling and queer sensation that now commenced to creep over them and was presently to culminate in disastrous eruptions. Read what Sister Crispina entered in her diary about the things that now happened: It's coming, this dreadful seasickness; see them jump from their seats, run to the rail-

ing, stooping low and lower, groaning and moaning and then—Tableau! Such was the fate of Sisters Cyrilla, Jovita, Rose, Zosima, Fortunata, Euphemia, Ulrica and Sylvana, after whom in quick succession followed Sisters Makaria, Rolendis, Gerburgis and Crispina. The latter for modesty's sake, however, speaks not of herself as being one of Neptune's victims. The whole company soon sought out their berths. They were ministered to by Sisters Henrietta, Augustina, Ulrica, and Cassiana, these four whose robust constitutions defied the after-effects of this incidental visitation. And they remained abed for three whole days, keeping the nurses busy. The diary pertinently adds: "Es War ein Jammer und eine Klage!" And thus far "nobody seemed to like the trip."

Night followed day and day night in the routine of ship life and experiences varied between cheerful and trying, but the journey, like all things human, finally came to an end.

November 3rd wonderfully revived the disheartened spirits of all on board and strained them to a high pitch of expectancy, for toward 10:30 A. M. a small boat was seen rocking on the waves headed for our steamer. In it was the pilot who was to safely steer the "Maas" into the near-by harbor of New York. At the sight of this harbinger of happy news all "Jammer and Leid" were forgotten. Land gradually became visible on the far horizon, rising as it were, out of the deep, plainer and always plainer did the shores of the New World spread their beauties out before them. Lighthouses lined the promontories, vessels of all description scurried hither and hither and before long the world's greatest commercial metropolis, New York and its busy harbor was reached. With a sincere and deep sigh of heartfelt gratitude the prayer of "Deo gratias" escaped from the lips of our sorely tried Sisters. It was 6:30 on the evening of November 3rd when the gallant ship "Maas" cast anchor near old Castle Garden, where already four Sisters from St. Mary's Hospital of Hoboken had come to bid them a hearty welcome. Our Sisters were persuaded to remain aboard till next morning when everything would be in readiness for disembarking. Prompt at 6 A. M., November 4th, the same delegation from St. Mary's Hospital were at the dock again.

(To be Continued)

REV. A. ZURBONSEN.

Springfield, Illinois.

OLD ST. PATRICK'S, OF JOLIET, RAZED

The towering gray steeple of St. Patrick's Catholic Church, for almost a century a landmark of Joliet from its lofty prominence on the Broadway bluff, will be undermined by wreckers' hammers tomorrow as the old structure is razed to make way for the new \$300,000 addition to De La Salle high school.

With the passing of the edifice, one of the oldest in the state, an integral unit of Joliet's pioneer days and the following development will have been terminated. The process of dismantling the staunch old church has been going on for several years, starting with the erection of the New St. Patrick's Church on West Marion street in 1919.

In 1922 the bell was removed from the belfry of the old Jefferson street edifice to be installed in the new church and the original St. Patrick's was left mute and vacant, seeming to age more in the short four years following its abandonment than in the four-score years of its existence.

ROMANCE OF FRONTIER DAYS

The romance of frontier days in the Joliet district was wrapped around the stone structure to be demolished tomorrow. The distinction of sheltering the first Catholic parish in Joliet is but one of the many marks of historical interest to its credit.

The first Mass of St. Patrick's parish was celebrated in a little frame building at what is now 107 Hickory street, in 1837, a few years before the old gray church was erected at Jefferson street and Broadway. The building of it, so tradition says, indirectly resulted in the death of the first pastor, the Rev. J. F. Plunkett.

Father Plunkett was returning from a collecting mission on horseback when his mount reared through the March storm, the rider's head striking a limb which extended over the road, killing him instantly. Father du Pantdavis, a French priest, succeeded to the pastorate, which was divided into two parishes in 1868, with the formation of St. Mary's for the east side of the city.

A fire in the parish house during the '40s destroyed the early records of the church which have since been compiled through tradition and the stories of members of the early congregations.

Dean P. W. Dunne, with 26 years of service, held the longest pastorate of the old church, celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination while head of the congregation. The Rev. Peter O'Dwyer succeeded him.

PARISH IS DIVIDED

In 1918 when the parish was divided into two west side districts, the Rev. Philip Kennedy and the Rev. Francis Scanlan were sent to Joliet as the pastors of the two new churches, the former taking over new St. Patrick's.

The old church and school buildings, abandoned with the dedication of the new combined church and school on Marion street, were turned over to De LaSalle institute at present overcrowded and in need of additional space.

The new addition to the present school structure will cover the site of the old church and is designed to be one of the most complete educational units in the state, providing for class rooms, study halls, science laboratories, gymnasium and every feature embodied in modern school construction.

The Kaiser-Ducett company has the wrecking contract and efforts will be made to have the new addition ready for use in September when the fall term convenes.

HISTORIC STEEPLE PULLED DOWN

The towering steeple of old St. Patrick's Catholic Church left its sentinel-like position on the old stone structure on the brow of Broadway hill yesterday afternoon. Left it with a moaning creak, a shivering of century-old timbers and a reverberating roar as the pointed spire broke into a thousand pieces at the side of the church, the first Catholic edifice in Joliet.

Science and progress sounded the death knell of the old landmark, the most conspicuous and commanding figure in Joliet's architectural life for 80 years. But this same progress and modern methods found the task of tearing down the ancient spire to make room for new De La Salle institute building much more difficult than was expected.

TASK IS DIFFICULT

A young maple tree, planted after the beams in the steeple had rotted with age was sacrificed in an effort to pull the spire from its anchorage. A huge motor truck found the job almost too much, and the greater part of the afternoon was spent before the towering needle, surmounted by the cross, crashed to the school yard.

The first attempt to pull down the steeple found the cable and pulley ropes anchored to a maple tree a block away on Hickory street.

"Here it comes!" one of the 200 on-lookers shouted as the steeple framework, a wire rope around its middle, quivered and buckled. Another tug of the motor truck, a give in the long rope and the maple

tree lay unrooted in the yard. The old steeple shivered back into position and seemed to shake itself back into a semblance of the fine dignity which it has possessed almost since Joliet was born.

SAW THROUGH TIMBERS

Workmen invaded the tower for the last time and sawed through three of the square timbers which moored the frame steeple to the stone tower. An hour later another signal was given and the truck engine roared its way to the end of the rope, anchored this time in the stone retaining wall on Hickory street.

This time there was no relief from the pull and the steeple teetered for a moment on its insecure base, breaking into fragments midway in its 50-foot fall to earth.

A pair of startled pigeons, living in homes made 88 years ago, fluttered from a tiny window as the steeple careened downward and a huge cloud of dust marked the resting place of the steeple. The cross, broken only at the arm joint, was salvaged by the Brothers of the school.

Today, old St. Patrick's stands stripped of its rudder, the arched roof torn off, old stained glass windows ripped open and its mellowed interior a pile of wreckers' debris. Thunderous blows of the wrecking crew resound where once the echo would have been sacrilegious and before many more days, St. Patrick's will belong to the ages.

TOWER TO BE REPRODUCED IN STONE

At the request of the Joliet Art League and a number of residents, the old wooden tower that graced St. Patrick's Church will be duplicated in stone at the top of the new De La Salle high school building which will be erected at Broadway and Jefferson street.

Soon after the tower recently torn down, sentiment favoring duplication began to make itself manifest and continued to grow until question was laid before the school authorities and Cardinal Mundelein. The Cardinal thereupon ordered the tower's duplication.

TOWER 55 FEET HIGH

The tower, plans for which are in possession of the Kaiser-Ducett Construction, who are erecting the building, will be 55 feet in height and 16 feet around its base. It will be faced with pressed brick and trimmed with Bedford stone. The columns, which in the old tower were of oak, in the new tower will be of Bedford stone. They will be 17 feet, 6 inches in height and two feet in diameter.

The tower will be duplicated at a cost of \$3,500.

The new building will front on Broadway, but will run back to Hickory street.

On the first floor of the building will be located the entrance, the administration room and 8 class rooms, 22 by 30 feet in dimension. All of the rooms will be connected by a 12 foot corridor. On the second floor at the front will be a club room. Back of this will be a cafeteria and, back of the cafeteria will be situated the kitchen and locker room.

CHAPEL AND LIBRARY

On the third floor at the front will be four class rooms, back of which will be located the school's library, 22 feet wide and 60 feet long. Back of the library is the chapel and then comes the auditorium 67 feet wide and 101 feet long, fitted out with a complete and modernly equipped stage with dressing rooms.

On the fourth floor will be located the laboratories, a lecture hall and three class rooms.

The structure which is to be built of pressed brick will be completely modern and fireproof throughout.

Joseph W. McCarthy is the architect.

REFLECTIONS ON OLD ST. PATRICK'S

Rich memories are invoked by the dismantlement of old St. Patrick's-on-the-Bluff.

Built in 1838 the old edifice had outlasted many a more pretentious building, and had come to be bound up with the progress of the community.

When the congregation of the original church became too large to be cared for in the building it was divided, one half going to make up St. Raymond's church and the other half remaining at St. Patrick's.

A number of years ago the old church was turned over to the Christian Brothers for the establishment of a Catholic high school.

And now the old building, rich in associations and memories, is being torn down to make way for a more modern high school building.

This is well.

St. Patrick's served its purpose. It was the pioneer. Others now carry on its work.

At the time it was built it was about the last word in church architecture.

Since that far day progress has overtaken and outstripped it.

But the old church through it all was a spiritual beacon to the community.

What memories cling about its walls that now are being torn down!—Joliet *Herald News*.

THE GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY SYSTEMS AND HOW THEY WERE ESTABLISHED AND DEVELOPED

The first important Government land grant in aid of the construction of railroads was in 1850, which was a grant of 2,500,000 acres in Illinois to aid in the construction of the Illinois Central Railroad. The father of this measure was Stephen A. Douglas. Prior to 1850 there were no Government land grants, and a reading of the encyclopedia article quoted by Senator Chamberlain will show how insignificant were the money contributions prior to 1850. The fact is that in almost every case the States either owned the roads or were financially interested in them. The State of Michigan, for instance, built and owned the Michigan Central road from Detroit to Kalamazoo, which it operated for years at a loss and sold in 1846 for a small consideration. The land-grant policy of aid to railroads began in 1850 with the Illinois Central grant.

The following are extracts from speeches of Stephen A. Douglas, Henry Clay and Thomas H. Benton in the Senate upon the subject of the Illinois land grant which throw an illuminating light upon this whole matter and are typical of all the speeches made on the subject:

MR. DOUGLAS. "It is simply carrying out a principle which has been acted upon for 30 years, by which you cede each alternate section of land and double the price of the alternate sections not ceded, so that the same price is received for the whole. These lands have been in the market for 15 to 30 years; the average time is about 23 years; but they will not sell at the usual price of \$1.25 per acre, because they are distant from any navigable stream or a market for produce. A railroad will make the lands salable at double the usual price, because the improvement will make them valuable."

HENRY CLAY. "With respect to the State of Illinois—and I believe the same is true to a considerable extent with reference to Mississippi and Alabama, but I happen to know something personally of the interior of the State of Illinois—that portion of the State through which this road will run is a succession of prairies, the principal of which is denominated the 'Grand Prairie.' I do not recollect its exact length; it is, I believe, about 300 miles in length and but 100 in breadth. Now, this road will pass directly through that Grand Prairie lengthwise, and there is nobody who knows anything of that Grand Prairie who does not know that the land is utterly worthless for any present purpose—not because it is not fertile but for want of wood and water and from the fact that it is

inaccessible, wanting all facilities for reaching a market or for transporting timber, so that nobody will go there and settle while it is so destitute of all the advantages of society and the conveniences which arise from a social state. And now, by constructing this road through the prairie, through the center of the State of Illinois, you bring millions of acres of land immediately into the market, which will otherwise remain for years and years entirely unsalable."

THOMAS H. BENTON. "From the consideration which I gave to that subject at that early day, it appeared to me that it was a beneficial disposition for the United States to make of her refuse lands, to cede them to the States in which they lay. Lands which had been 20 or 25 years in the market at the minimum price, and had never found a purchaser up to that time, were classed as refuse, and it was deemed that the State, as a local authority, might be able to make some disposition of them, which the General Government, without machinery of land offices, could not. The principle of the bill before the Senate is to take the refuse lands and appropriate them to a great object of internal improvement, which, although it has its locality in a particular State, produces advantages which we all know spread far and wide, for a good road can not be made anywhere without being beneficial to the whole United States."

"But, Mr. President, with respect to the general proposition, this application rests upon a principle that young States are made desolate, in a great degree, by having lands in their midst that pay no taxes, undergo no cultivation, that are held at a price that nobody will pay, and which, in fact, in some parts of the country become jungles for the protection of wild beasts that prey upon the flocks and herds of the farmers."

THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL GRANT

Because it was the first of these Government land grants and embraced the most valuable lands covered by any grant of agricultural land a correct knowledge of the value of the Illinois Central grant will throw light upon the whole subject.

The first point to consider is what were these lands worth in 1850; what did the Government give to secure the construction of the Illinois Central road? What value did the Government part with?

This all-important inquiry is ignored by Senator Chamberlain. The reason for its importance has been well put by Prof. Allen, of the University of Chicago, as follows:

"In determining the principle represented by the lands we must take account of the actual value of the lands in 1851. The values which the railroad company was to receive for the lands were not foreseen, and the State could justly claim compensation only for the values it surrendered. The lands had been offered by the General Government at \$1.25 per acre without finding buyers, but as soon as the lands were granted to the railroad company the minimum price for Government as well as railroad lands became \$2.50. More than this they were sure to bring, but only in case the private corporation should bring in the road to develop them."

What contribution, then, did the Government make toward the construction of the Illinois Central Railroad?

Senator Douglas and all the other Senators state clearly what was the value of these lands. They had been in the open market for sale for 25 years with no purchasers. The promoters of the road, who took the risk of the venture, could have bought this land with no strings to it, no restrictions whatever, at \$1.25 per acre. The grant was for 2,500,000 acres, so that the outside estimate of what the Government contributed was \$3,100,000.

The officials of the road could have bought the land for \$3,100,000.

But that is far more than the Government parted with, because not only did the building of the road enable the Government to immediately raise the price of all its adjoining lands from \$1.25 to \$2.50 per acre, as Senator Douglas explains, but it gave them a market for land which, without the railroad, was not salable at any price.

The Illinois Central grant, as stated, had a possible market value of \$3,100,000. That is an outside estimate of what value the Government parted with as a contribution toward the building of a railroad through a region which Henry Clay described as "utterly worthless for any present purpose" and Thomas H. Benton referred to as "jungles for the protection of wild beasts that prey upon the flocks and herds of the farmers."

CONSIDERATION FOR GRANTS

But what has the Government and the State of Illinois taken from the Illinois Central Co. and its owners in consideration of that land grant worth \$3,100,000? It has already taken more than \$21,000,000 in money and continues to take at the rate of hundreds of thousands of dollars every year.

The acts of Congress granting the lands contained provisions which, in some cases, have compelled the companies to pay out in money more than the lands were worth, and the various States to which grants were made in trust for specified companies added other costly conditions.

Two of the clauses that have proved most expensive to the railroads are as follows:

In 1876 Congressman Holman, of Indiana, caused to be inserted in the appropriation bill the following clause:

"Railroad companies whose railroads were constructed in whole or in part by a land grant made by Congress, on the condition that the mails should be

transported over their roads at such price as Congress should by law direct, shall receive only 80 per cent of the compensation otherwise authorized by this section."

Another provision that was in all the grants reads as follows:

"The railroad accepting such grant shall be free from toll or other charge upon the transportation of any property or troops of the United States."

In addition to the mail pay deductions and the stipulation for transportation of property and troops of the United States, the State of Illinois inserted in the Illinois Central grant a clause under which that company must pay in perpetuity 7 per cent of the gross earnings of these charter lines into the State treasury in lieu of general taxes, which would be approximately 3 to 3½ per cent. Under the Federal valuation law proceedings these figures are obliged to be correctly stated, and the following is an official statement of these items as of the valuation date of June 30, 1915:

Excess State tax on operating revenues.....	\$16,499,995.00
Mail pay reduction	1,569,292.37
Freight deductions	448,327.70
Deductions for handling troops, munitions of war, etc.	2,148,258.31
	<hr/>
	\$21,148,258.31

There is no doubting the significance of these figures. They are typical of the greater part of all the land grants.

The value of the Illinois Central grant was \$3,100,000, and up to June 30, 1915, it had cost the company in cash \$21,148,258, and these charges against its revenues are to continue forever. Any business man would say that the Illinois Central would be in better shape, financially today if, instead of accepting this land grant, it had borrowed the money and bought this \$3,100,000 worth of land outright and owned it free from restrictions.

THE IOWA LAND GRANTS

Next in agricultural value to the Illinois lands were the grants to the State of Iowa in 1856 in trust for four named companies, namely, the Burlington & Missouri River (now Chicago, Burlington & Quincy), the Mississippi & Missouri (now Rock Island), the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River (now Chicago & North-Western), and the Dubuque & Sioux City (now Illinois Central).

The grants were of the odd-numbered sections within 6 miles of the line of road as definitely located, with indemnity for shortages to

be selected within 15 miles, but could only apply to the "public lands" within the designated limits. No land to which any title or even a "claim of right" in any other person existed at the date when the grant took effect was "public" land, and therefore no such land passed to the railroad company. In the older Western States (Illinois, Iowa and Missouri) a large part of lands had been "entered" or filed upon or settled under military bounty land warrants or under pre-emption certificates, so that, although by the general terms of the act the "grant" to the Burlington road in Iowa was over 900,000 acres, it was never able to get over 358,400 acres. In many cases also where lands were actually patented to railroad companies they afterwards lost them through conflicts with prior Mexican grants, swamp-land grants, Indian and military reservation, and other deductions.

Similar conditions as to value of lands and deductions made by the Government in consideration of the grants prevailed in Iowa as in Illinois, and in some cases in a more marked degree.

Take as a illustration the case of the Burlington grant, with which I am personally familiar. That company received 358,424 acres in Iowa, which had been in the market for many years at \$1.25 an acre, with no buyers. Speculators would not buy these lands because they could not be sold at a profit. Money in that country commanded 10 per cent, and in many cases as high as 1 per cent a month. To the speculator it was more profitable to lend his money than to buy land from the Government at \$1.25 an acre. Settlers would not buy the land even under the very liberal provisions of the pre-emption laws, because there was no market for their products. Instances were numerous in western Iowa of land selling at 70 cents an acre which had been entered at \$1.25, because purchasers could not then make a living on the land. That same land now sells for \$200 an acre, because New England capital built a railroad for them. Who received the chief profit in that case? The landowner and not the owners of the railroad. For years after the Burlington road was built it stock, which had been paid for at par, sold at 15 cents on the dollar, and its 10 per cent bonds sold much below par, although it owned these lands as well as the railroad. The owners of the Burlington road could have taken \$450,000 in money and bought every acre of that Iowa land grant. But how much money has the Government compelled it to pay back as the price of that grant? Up to the first day of October, 1916, the company had paid to the Government \$2,209,000 as the 20 per cent deduction from its mail pay, pursuant to the Holman law of 1876. Exact figures are not available since October, 1916, when the

so-called "space basis" for carrying the mails was inaugurated, but this exaction is going on year after year! Hundreds of thousands of dollars are now being paid every year by these land-grant roads out of their mail pay because of the "gift" which Congress presented to them in 1856.

In the case of the Burlington Railroad Co. in the State of Iowa it has repaid to the Government in cash by these mail-pay deductions alone more than five times the full money value which the Government parted with in making the Iowa land grant.

Besides this, in carrying the train loads of troops and munitions of war and Government property across the State of Iowa, during the 50 years since the road was completed from Burlington to Omaha, at half the lawful tariff rates, that company has repaid several times over the value of every acre of land that was granted to it.

There is another side to this particular feature that is often overlooked. Other railroads have been built across Iowa since the land-grant period, such as the Milwaukee & St. Paul and Great Western, which are, technically, not subject to the 50 per cent reductions in tariff, but, being in land-grant territory the Government authorities force them to also make the cut rate as a condition of giving them any business. The result is a 50 per cent tariff on all Government business throughout this whole region, whether the road actually handling it received a land grant or not. It is a common practice for the Government to enforce this 50 per cent reduction from the tariff along the entire line of a transcontinental road which has no land grant, such as the Rio Grande and Western Pacific, solely because the Northern Pacific had a land grant for its entire length!

THE NEBRASKA GRANTS

In the case of the large grant made to the Burlington road in Nebraska the company sold thousands of acres of these lands at 25 cents per acre, and at the date of the grant it is extremely doubtful whether the entire grant could have been disposed of at \$1 per acre, since the Government had probably not sold an acre adjoining the lands covered by this grant at its standard price of \$1.25 per acre, while at the same time many persons by the purchase of land scrip acquired title to some of the choicest Nebraska lands, more favorably located than one-half or more of this grant, at a cost of less than \$1 per acre. In many counties wherein these lands are located no homesteads—at a total expense of \$14 for 160 acres—were located until

long after the date of this grant, and many of these counties were not "organized" until 1871 to 1873, years after the date of this grant.

THE NORTHERN PACIFIC GRANT

The Northern Pacific Railway was not completed until 20 years after its land grant was made, and since then it has gone through bankruptcy twice, notwithstanding its ownership of these lands and of its railroad. How much good did the original stockholders to whom the lands were given realize from the gift? And the same inquiry is pertinent as to the Union Pacific land grant and the grants made to the Rock Island, the Santa Fe, and other western roads that have been foreclosed. Prior to the actual construction of the Northern Pacific the settlement and development of the country was insignificant. There were no dwellings, much less towns, except in the vicinity of Army posts and mining camps and a small community on Puget Sound. The whole country, excepting Indian and military reservations, was open to homestead and other entry under the public land laws, and the maximum charge by the United States for agricultural lands entered prior to the definite location of the road was \$1.25 per acre. Generally speaking, the Indians were occupying the territory to the exclusion of others. Practically all the value the lands now have has resulted from the construction of the road.

Seven-eighths of all the lands granted to the Northern Pacific Railway have now been sold, and the net receipts and uncollected deferred payments have produced for the company an average of \$2.89 per acre, as officially reported.

THE UNION PACIFIC

Under date of November 11, 1919, the land commissioner of the Union Pacific Railway made the following estimate of the value of the lands covered by their grants at the time of the grants, namely:

In Nebraska and Kansas, \$1 an acre.

In Colorado, 50 cents an acre.

In Wyoming and Utah, 25 cents an acre.

SOUTHERN GRANTS

The table which the Senator from Oregon caused to be inserted in the Record shows railroad grants of acreage in Southern States as follows:

	Ares
Mississippi	1,075,345
Alabama	2,746,560
Florida	2,216,980
Arkansas	2,562,095
Missouri	1,837,968

Hon. E. B. Stahlman, of Nashville, before a congressional committee, when resisting an attempt to still further reduce the mail pay of the land-grant roads, stated under oath:

The land granted in Alabama consisted of hills and mountains not susceptible of cultivation. The Florida lands were sand hills thinly covered with small pine of little value. Of these the best have been sold at 70 cents per acre. The companies can not realize 25 cents per acre on what remains unsold. When the grants were made, their value could not have exceeded 12½ cents per acre. Lands of greater value were sold all through Florida and Alabama for that price."

Hon. W. A. McRae, now commissioner of agriculture for the State of Florida, wrote from Tallahassee under date of November 21, 1919:

"It would be fair to assume that the bulk of the lands granted to Florida railroads brought them less than \$1.25 per acre."

When account is taken of the taxes paid and commissions, advertising, and other costs of selling, Mr. Stahlman's estimate that the value which the Government contributed toward the construction of these southern roads did not exceed 12½ cents an acre does not seem far out of the way.

The grant to the St. Louis & San Francisco Co. was for 1,668,000 acres in Missouri, and concerning its value the land commissioner says:

"Fifty per cent of this grant was wholly worthless; 30 per cent was fair, and similar lands sold for 25 cents per acre; the remaining 20 per cent were worth \$1 per acre."

Concerning the Atlantic & Pacific grant, the vice-president of that company says:

"The company sold 3,500,000 acres at 75 cents per acre, 1,058,560 acres at 50 cents per acre to a cattle company, and 259,000 acres at 70 cents per acre, an average of 87 cents per acre, or \$4,670,000. The taxes and expenses of selling the lands to date have been \$622,000, the mail pay deductions \$430,000, and large deductions on account of transportation of troops and munitions of war. The company would be glad to sell all the land it now owns or will receive at 25 cents per acre. There is no demand for it and the truth is it can not be sold for any sum."

TEXAS GRANTS

More lands, by far, were granted by the State of Texas to aid in the construction of railroads than by any other State, mainly because they had more to give.

What was the value of these lands according to the views of Texans who were qualified to speak?

Two of the largest grants in Texas were those made to the International & Great Northern (5,646,720 acres) and to the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe (3,554,560 acres).

The International & Great Northern lands (12,800 acres per mile) were forced upon the railroad company in 1875, in place of bonds of \$10,000 per mile which had been granted and were promised—that is, the company was compelled to accept the lands on a basis of 78 cents an acre. But this was an exceptionally valuable grant because the surveys were allowed to be made in solid bodies, and the lands were wholly exempt from all taxes for 25 years. They had to be located in the arid regions of Texas, and lands of better value were freely sold in those days at 10 cents an acre.

The result of being compelled to accept these lands was that the International & Great Northern was forced into bankruptcy in 1876, and in those proceedings these lands were turned bodily over to the bondholders, and did not really contribute to the building of a mile of the road.

The Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe built 1,000 miles of railroad in Texas and received land certificates on the first 200 miles, amounting to 3,554,560 acres, which they sold for \$246,677, less \$35,508 expenses, the net proceeds being \$211,168. The road was cheaply constructed and the proceeds of their land grant were sufficient to pay for the construction and equipment of 10 miles of the 1,000 miles, according to the statement of date December 10, 1919, by the Federal manager, Mr. F. G. Pettibone, well known all over Texas. This was not an improvident or unusual sale. The prevailing price of similar lands in Texas from 1878 to along in the eighties averaged from 10 to 12½ cents an acre. Over 32,000,000 acres were granted in Texas, with an outside selling value of \$6,000,000, which would construct and equip about 150 miles of the present 15,740 miles of railroad in that State, or less than 1 per cent.

VALUE OF ALL GRANTS

The tables filed by the Senator from Oregon aggregate 124,000,000 acres, and if the swamp and other lands granted by States, including

Texas, are added, the grand total is approximately 174,000,000 acres, which no reasonable man with knowledge of the facts would estimate as having a value, when granted, to exceed \$174,000,000, of which the companies have already repaid at least one-half in cash and are subject to perpetual charges which in time will more than equal the other half.

That is equivalent to saying that all the lands granted to all railroads in the United States have not been equal in value to 1 per cent of the cost of the roads. The figures of the gross sales of the lands will, of course, aggregate a larger amount, but from these must be deducted taxes, commissions and sale expenses, and this increased value is a value which the railroad has itself created.

The history of land grants to railroads in this country has not yet been written. It was in the main a record of pioneering and risk, of financial struggles, disappointments and loss. When that history is impartially written and the facts of each grant are disclosed it will probably be made clear that from the point of view of the public it was a wise and beneficent policy, the chief beneficiaries of which have been the fortunate farmers who bought the lands and improved them.

The railroad companies were interested in getting the lands into the ownership of actual settlers who would cultivate them and create traffic for their roads, which was far better for the general good than to have them owned by speculators. There is no evidence that they did not act in good faith in promptly disposing of the lands and devoting the proceeds to the construction of the roads.

THE BURLINGTON ROUTE

The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company, popularly known as "The Burlington," is seventy-five years old. It owns over nine thousand miles of railroad in the eleven States which mainly constitute the Middle West, and controls 2,071 other miles, or 11,478 miles in all. It serves every important trade center in this great producing empire including Chicago, St. Louis, Omaha, Lincoln, Kansas City, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Denver, St. Joseph, Des Moines, Peoria, Sioux City, Quincy and Burlington; there are 1,670 stations on its lines.

The actual investment of money in its construction and equipment is \$562,000,000, which is less than the value of the property which the company has devoted to the use of the public, and upon which it is entitled to an opportunity to earn for its owners the fair return prescribed by law. Its capital stock is \$170,839,000 and its funded

debt actually outstanding is \$212,300,000, the sum of the two, \$383,139,000 constituting its capital. The total capital of the company, therefore, is about two-thirds of the actual amount of money that is invested, and is not nearly equal to the present cash value of the property, which is a rather conclusive answer to any suggestion that the capital of the Burlington is "watered."

The story of the growth and development of this company is the story of the growth and development of that portion of the great valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and the intervening prairies that stretch for a thousand miles from Chicago to the Rocky Mountains. This region is already the greatest producer of live stock and agricultural products in the world, and no single agency has more directly or more substantially contributed to secure for it this imperial position than the Burlington railroad.

The State of Illinois was admitted into the Union in 1818, and while it possesses a vast area of fertile soil and rich coal deposits, the lack of transportation kept it in a backward and unprogressive condition for thirty years.

July 4, 1828, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, at Baltimore had gone through the motions of beginning the Baltimore & Ohio, and three years later (1831) the first little train was run over the Mohawk & Hudson Railroad, the initial unit of what is now the New York Central.

ILLINOIS TRIAL OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Soon thereafter arose and spread among the people of Illinois and the entire western country, a mania for the construction of what were called works of Internal Improvement. Some idea of the extent of this mania can be gathered from the appeals of the then Governor of Illinois, asking for legislation to enable the State to embark upon an extensive system of State railroads.

Governor Duncan, in his message to the Illinois legislature in 1835, said:

"When we look abroad and see lines of railroad penetrating every section of our sister States, the locomotive bearing in triumph the rich productions of the interior to the sea, thus annihilating time and space, what patriot bosom does not beat high with a laudable ambition to give Illinois her full share of these advantages."

The legislature promptly responded to these appeals by providing for a large number of State railroads aggregating over 1,300 miles, including a line from Cairo to Galena, and another from Meredosia,

on the Illinois River, to Springfield, and projected eastwardly, to be called "Northern Cross Railroad," to build which bonds were authorized of \$1,800,000, the total bonds authorized in 1837 amounting to ten millions of dollars, the obligations of the State, whose total inhabitants then numbered less than three hundred thousand. The census of Chicago taken in July, 1837, showed a population of 4,180, which by 1840 had increased to 4,470.

The only one of all these State railroads that was ever built and operated was the Northern Cross from Meredosia easterly for a distance of eight miles. The first locomotive that turned a wheel in the Mississippi valley was put upon the track of this company on the eighth day of November, 1838, with imposing ceremonies in which the Governor participated.

The entire movement for State owned railroads was a lamentable failure. For ten years this eight mile portion of the Northern Cross was the only railroad in Illinois, and in 1847, it was sold at auction for \$21,000 although the State had issued a million dollars in bonds on account of the construction of this line. The State was left with a debt of fifteen million dollars, which it was many years in paying.

These and other speculative enterprises brought on the financial panic of 1837, which caused general distress. After July, 1841, no further effort was made to even pay the interest upon the bonds that had been issued to build railroads, which declined to fourteen cents on the dollar. Some counties absolutely refused to pay taxes.

The poverty of the people of this region at that time was extreme. One per cent per month was the common rate of interest. Corn sold for eight cents per bushel; wheat for twenty to thirty cents, and dressed hogs at \$1.50 per hundred pounds, and the best farm land could be purchased for eighty cents an acre.

The extremity reached by these unfortunate policies is partially disclosed in the message of Governor Ford to the legislature in 1842, in which he said:

The Treasury is bankrupt; the State has no credit; the currency has been annihilated; there is not over \$300,000 of good money in the pockets of all the people in this State; the banks owe everybody and nobody can pay anything. Property is worthless, and the products of the farm are unsalable.

Illinois has never since experimented with any policy of public ownership of railroads; the one experiment was enough. The record of conditions in that period is interesting, not only because of that experience, but as showing the difficulties that confronted those who in 1849 and 1850 inaugurated the policy of building railroads with

private capital for private profit, under which we have witnessed the present amazing development of the West.

NEW CONDITIONS ARISING

This was before the days of any considerable immigration into the West from foreign countries, and the settlers who came were from other states, and mainly from Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky and other nearby communities. But events were fast shaping themselves after 1845 to change conditions.

Iowa was admitted into the Union in 1846, the first free state of the Louisiana purchase, opening up a great area of highly productive soil. The revolution of 1848 in Germany resulted in the expulsion from that country and the emigration to America of large numbers of progressive citizens, many of whom settled in Illinois and Iowa and Missouri. It was about this time, also, that the McCormick reaper and other labor saving farm machines were invented and made practical, which enormously increased the productiveness of the land. The Mexican war was just then over, and as a result Texas and California much enlarged our western territory. But among all the influences which turned immigration in this direction and stimulated the demand for railroads, none was so important as the discovery of gold in California in 1848.

ORIGIN OF THE BURLINGTON RAILROAD

It was into these conditions that the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Company was born. It came into being as a small local railroad twelve miles long, created and financed entirely by citizens of Aurora and vicinity.

All railroads at that time were constructed under charters authorized by the legislature, scores of which were granted for the asking at each session, so anxious had the people become for better transportation to be furnished by private capital, which was reluctant to take the risks involved in these uncertain enterprises.

At a session of the legislature held February 12, 1849, three special railroad charters were granted for separate roads, all of which were to subsequently become incorporated into the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy. One was given the name "Aurora Branch," organized to build a short line from Aurora to Turner Junction (now West Chicago), where it would connect with the Chicago & Galena Union (now North-Western), which road was built in 1850, and was not only the first railroad built out of Chicago, but was the first railroad

built in Illinois by private capital. The building of these twelve miles afforded the people of Aurora and vicinity access to the lake, which connection was so satisfactory that no direct line was built from Aurora into Chicago for more than ten years.

The construction of the "Aurora Branch" was nominally commenced in December, 1849, and the twelve miles was completed and ready for operation in September, 1850. A local newspaper published in Aurora shortly after the road was finished said, concerning its construction:

"Second-hand strap rails were purchased and used, the directors becoming personally responsible for their payment. A second-hand engine and passenger car was purchased, and with some freight cars belonging to the Galena road, the enterprise was set in motion."

The second of the roads that was to become a part of the Burlington was named "Peoria & Oquawka," organized in 1849 to build a road from Peoria via Galesburg west to Oquawka on the Mississippi River, the western terminus being afterwards changed to Burlington, Iowa. Construction of this line, as an independent proposition, was commenced in 1851, and in March, 1855, that portion from Galesburg to Burlington was completed, the link from Peoria to Galesburg being completed in 1857. During its construction, this company encountered financial difficulties and called for assistance from the C., B. & Q., with the result that eventually, in 1864, it came into full ownership.

The third Illinois company formed at this time was called "Central Military Tract." This company was organized in 1851, by local people at Galesburg to build northeast of Mendota. They began building in 1852, and completed their line in 1854, with the financial assistance of the Burlington.

In the meantime, in 1852, the Aurora Branch changed its name to "Chicago & Aurora," and under that name extended its line from Aurora westerly to Mendota in 1853, where it connected with the Central Military Tract, and in 1855, it changed its name to "Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company," by which name it has ever since been known, and in 1864, extended its road from Aurora into Chicago, thirty-six miles.

In 1856, the two companies were consolidated, and in 1864, the consolidated company finally purchased the Peoria Company.

Meanwhile, the old Northern Cross charter had been used to build a branch from Quincy to Galesburg, 100 miles. This company also had financial difficulties. Its mortgages were foreclosed, and the road

was purchased at sheriff's sale by the C., B. & Q., so that by 1864 the company had a consolidated road of 400 miles all in Illinois, and extending from Chicago to Burlington, and to Quincy, and from Peoria to Galesburg.

Meantime, in 1852, local people at Burlington, Iowa, had organized a railroad company called "Burlington & Missouri River" under the general law of that State, to build a line from Burlington west through the southern tier of Iowa counties to Plattsburgh on the Missouri River, and in 1856, had been given by Congress a grant of lands of about 350,000 acres, to aid in its construction.

They were five years building thirty-five miles, and reached Ottumwa, (seventy-five miles) in 1859, unable to go further from lack of money. The financial backers of the C., B. & Q. were induced to invest in their bonds and stock, and provided funds for extending the road to the Missouri River, which was reached in January, 1870, with various branches in Iowa, all of which were acquired by the C., B. & Q. in 1872.

In this interval another group of local people at Hannibal, in 1847, had secured a special charter from the Missouri legislature to build a road from Hannibal to St. Joseph, but it took ten years for them to build thirty-five miles, although Congress gave the company a land grant of 600,000 acres. The C., B. & Q. financiers advanced them money to extend the road, which reached St. Joseph in 1859, and Kansas City in 1870.

Then in 1869, a company was organized by parties connected with the C., B. & Q., to build a bridge over the Missouri River at Plattsburgh, and extend the road to Kearney, Nebraska, to a connection with the Union Pacific, which was completed in 1872. This company built and bought numerous branches in Nebraska, and in 1880, was consolidated with the C., B. & Q., which about the same time acquired the Hannibal & St. Joseph, and the line north from Kansas City to Omaha, and from Burlington, Iowa, south to St. Louis. In 1882, it extended its line to Denver, Colorado; in 1886, to St. Paul, Minnesota; in 1894, to Billings, Montana.

The Burlington System is the product of over two hundred separate railroad companies, many of which were started by local citizens whose communities desired better transportation, but were in fact only paper railroads, because of lack of money. The people of the West had no surplus funds with which to build railroads, and of necessity applied to the financial interests of New England and the East, and the development of the property and of this vast territory was therefore dependent upon this source of money supply, which,

in the case of the Burlington company, in all its early stages, was very largely furnished through the influence of Mr. John M. Forbes, of Boston, and his friends, and the financial interests with which he was identified and connected.

Mr. Forbes, in 1845, with a party of Boston capitalists, had purchased from the State of Michigan, the Michigan Central Railroad, then built from Detroit to Kalamazoo, and by the year 1852, had extended it into Chicago, overcoming great obstacles. They then naturally began looking about for western connections and feeders to their road, and decided to back the C., B. & Q., which they did consistently for fifty years, and to them the people of the West owe the original construction of the Burlington Railroad.

After 1880, the direction of the company's affairs was largely in the hands of Charles E. Perkins, who had been in the company's service since 1859, and had risen by constant promotions to the Presidency.

In 1901, Mr. James J. Hill, who had been the principal factor in the construction of the Great Northern system of railroads, and was interested in the Northern Pacific, associated with a strong group of New York capitalists, desiring connections for the two northwest roads with the important markets of the middle west, which could be made through connecting with the Burlington at Billings and at St. Paul, acquired practically all the shares of the Burlington company by exchanging them for joint bonds of the two northwest companies. This gave those two companies control of the Burlington, although it has continued to function as before. Mr. Perkins gave the following reasons from the standpoint of the C., B. & Q. in justification of the transfer of control to the northern companies.

He said:

"The C. B. & Q. will be assured of, what it does not now possess, a permanent connection by the shortest line with the great northwest, rich in minerals and lumber, with its markets for agricultural and other products, and with the commerce of the Pacific Ocean by way of Puget Sound and the Columbia River. On the other hand, the northern roads will be assured of a permanent connection by the shortest line with the agriculture and manufactures of the middle west, and the markets to be found there for the products of the north and the commerce of the Pacific. No argument is necessary to show that this assured permanency is of the greatest importance to all of the interests concerned, the people as well as the railroads."

"The whole effects of the combination will be beneficial. Look at a map and see how the lines of these corporations fit into and supplement each other. And when doing so it will interest you to trace, and compare with these railroads of today, the line of march of Lewis and Clark, who took possession of

the Louisiana purchase for the government of the United States a hundred years ago.’’

Since 1901, the Burlington has secured control of the Colorado & Southern, an important system of 1,820 miles, and has rebuilt and extended its Illinois system into the southern Illinois coal fields, thus developing a large coal business.

The strength of the Burlington is drawn from the rich and highly productive region in which it was wisely located by the promoters, and the enterprising and progressive population of the States in which it is fortunately situated. Among the many features which have made it one of the most successful railroads, are the live stock industry, the grain industry, the coal industry, and the beet sugar industry.

W. W. BALDWIN.

GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS

Mississippi Valley Source Material.—The Year Book of the Carnegie Institution of Washington for 1923-24, recently issued, includes a report upon historical research conducted under the auspices of the Institution and mentions works of importance to the student of Catholic history of this country. "A Calendar of Documents in Paris Archives relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley" has been prepared by Mrs. Surrey covering "material represented in the Library of Congress, material derived from series C¹¹ of the Archives des Colonies, and material from the Archives of the Ministry of War." The Calendar is now awaiting revision by Waldo G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution.

A publication of the Institution of the utmost value to the student of New Mexico history is "Historical Documents, relating to New Mexico, Uueva Vixcaya and Approaches Thereto to 1773," collected by the late Dr. Adolph Bandelier and Mrs. Bandelier, and edited by Professor Charles W. Hackett of the University of Texas. The work is to consist of four volumes of which volume one has appeared. Dr. Bandelier was a Catholic scholar and archeologist, who conducted researches into the history and customs of the Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, and was for many years before his death in 1914 engaged upon the history and archeology of Spanish America. His contributions to the Catholic Encyclopedia number more than sixty. The volume referred to contains "92 documents, almost all of them unknown hitherto, derived chiefly from the Archives of the Indies in Seville. The Spanish texts and careful translations into English are given on opposite pages. The documents include a body of sixteenth century reports relating to the services and merits of explorers and conquerors of New Spain, *cédulas* and letters relating to Indian affairs, documents relating to the colonial administration of New Spain, the founding of New Mexico and the contending efforts in that direction of Don Juan de Oñate and Don Pedro Ponce de Leon. It is not too much to say that the early history of New Mexico is to be largely rewritten in the light of these documents."

California Bibliographies.—The *California Historical Society Quarterly* for October, 1924, contains a list of sources and bibliographical books relating to California, including also guides to manuscripts and maps. The first group of titles covers lists of California

authors, California imprints and formal bibliographies of the State; the second group covers works containing bibliographical material. The list, containing as it does the titles of ninety-five bibliographies of works on California in its various aspects, is thus a clue to a vast amount of material of value for the intensive study of California. The author, Willard O. Waters, as one of the librarians of the Huntington Library, San Gabriel, has had excellent opportunities for research in this field. The December issue has a monographic article covering nearly one hundred pages, entitled "California Voyages, 1539-1541." It consists of translations of the original narratives of voyages by Francisco de Ulla, Hernando de Alarcon, and Francisco de Bolaños, edited by Henry R. Wagner. The stories of enormous treasure obtained by the Spaniards from Peru in the early sixteenth century excited the Spanish authorities in Mexico to send out expeditions northward in search of riches. Ulloa's expedition was sent by the Viceroy to discover if possible the so-called Seven Cities. Mr. Wagner holds that, contrary to the usual tradition, Ulloa returned from his expedition, which ended in a shipwreck and capture of his men. Eight early maps are reproduced. Alarcon sailed up the Colorado River gathering information about the Indians. Bolaños commanded an expedition sent out by Mendoza and "reached some point on the west coast of the peninsula of California, possibly two hundred miles north of Magdalena Bay." The "Declaration" made by Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero, pilot of the Bolaños expedition, describes the country, its harbors, and the native inhabitants.

Oñate's Colony in New Mexico.—A writer in the January, 1925, issue of the *Quarterly Journal* of the University of North Dakota, Mr. George P. Hammond, instructor in American history there, makes use of material recently found in the Archivo General de las Indias, Seville, bearing upon the desertion of Oñate's colony in New Mexico in 1601. Juan de Oñate, appointed governor of the newly acquired province of New Mexico, departed February, 1598, after some two years' delay, to take possession of the new region. "Leaving the Conchos on his right, Oñate struck out boldly through unexplored country and reached the Rio Grande late in April. He had opened a new and direct trail to New Mexico [from San Geronimo in northern Mexico]. At El Paso the river was forded and then the march continued up stream. After visiting most of the pueblos, Oñate early in August established his headquarters in Caypa, rechristened San Juan. It remained the capital until some time before Christmas, 1600, when San Gabriel, founded west of the Rio Grande, became the new

capital." A manuscript map in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, shows the places named above under the names, "Yanqin," identified as San Gabriel, west of the present Santa Fé on the opposite side of the Rio Grande, and San Juan, east of the river and north of Santa Fé. Having established the colony, Onate set out June 23, 1601, on an expedition north-east to Quivira; and it was during his absence that a sedition broke out which led the colonists to desert the post and return to Mexico. "Early in September, 1601, they had held a public meeting in the church. It was attended by the officers, soldiers and five of the [Franciscan] missionaries,—Fathers San Miguel, Zamora, Izquierdo, Peralta and Damian Escudero, the latter a lay brother. The gathering was held in order to draw up in proper form the reasons for deserting. Father San Miguel testified that he had seen many pueblos entirely deserted because of fear of the soldiers and the cruelty practiced by them when coming to rob the natives of their food. Remonstrances against such injustice had availed nothing because 'the land is so poor and so miserable that the governor has not been able to remedy' the situation." There were mutual recriminations. The lieutenant governor of Peñalosa seems to have sanctioned the proposal to abandon the colony, and in September or October, 1601, most of the colonists departed for Santa Barbara in Mexico. The writer makes no reference to the Bandeliers' monumental work, "Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya and Approaches thereto to 1773," edited by C. W. Hackett, of which volume one has appeared (Washington, 1923).

See of Gardar, Greenland.—"The Buried Past of Greenland" is the title of an article written some weeks ago for the *Nation* by Paul Nörlund, who speaks from his own experience of archeological research in Greenland in 1921, undertaken for the Danish Commission for the Scientific Investigation of Greenland. In A. D. 1000 Eric the Red, an outlaw of Iceland, founded at Julianehope and Godthope on the fiords of South Greenland a free political colony which maintained its existence for more than 250 years until in 1261 it surrendered to the Norwegian crown. "The sites of their farmyards, undisturbed by the ravages of time, are still to be found beneath the sod and the willow copses. According to a topographical description dating from the fourteenth century the settlements consisted of about 300 farms, two cloisters, and sixteen churches, one of which was the cathedral at the episcopal residence of Gardar. The sites of most of these are now known, thanks to a charting carried on by both skilled

and unskilled persons for more than a century and a half; and on the basis of excavations in both Greenland and Iceland made by Captain Daniel Bruun it has been proved that the Greenlandic dwellings corresponded to the old Icelandic dwellings of the Saga period. One find of much importance in the excavations in Greenland has been the clothing used as shrouds for the dead. Very little actual clothing of the middle ages has been found hitherto; but some of the styles exhibited in frescoes and sculpture can be compared with these Icelandic shrouds, whose preservation is due to being frozen to the skeletons. Christianity was introduced into Greenland by Leif, son of Eric the Red, who had visited Norway in 999. The diocese of Gardar was ruled by a line of sixteen or eighteen bishops up to the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is a curious fact, according to the Catholic Encyclopedia, that "the first Arctic expedition was undertaken in 1206 under the guidance of Catholic priests" (art. "Greenland").

The story of this mediaeval Catholic church has been written up by several Catholic writers: By Bishop O'Gorman in the *Catholic University Bulletin*, "The Mediaeval American Church," vol. 1, 1895, p. 415-427, basing this, "the first synthetic account in English of the rise and fall of the Church in Greenland," upon the Flatey Book and upon the collections of documents in facsimile edited in 1893 by an American Catholic scholar, T. C. Heywood, then connected with the Vatican Library. These documents, with a translation, have been reprinted in the *Catholic Historical Review* (Vol. 3, 1917-18, p. 210-227). "Their contents show that the Roman authorities had an intimate knowledge of the Church in Greenland; and an examination of the Archives and of Drontheim may prove the existence of many more manuscripts on the subject."

Portrait of Jacques Cartier.—In a brief contribution to the *Canadian Historical Review* of June, 1925, H. P. Biggar gives his reasons for thinking that no authentic portrait of Jacques Cartier exists today. There are three portraits known: the first, preserved in the town hall of St. Malo, France, and used in Francis Parkman's works, was painted in 1839 by F. Riss; the second is said to have once existed in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, but is not now to be found there; the third portrait appears as one of many colored plates engraved by Massard, born in 1812. "A comparison of any of Massard's portraits, with authentic portraits of the same person, shows great dissimilarity."

Life in Cahokia, 1800.—"The Mission House of Cahokia and its Builder, Nicholas Jarrot," is the title of a paper in Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1924, written by Margaret E. Barr. Among the Frenchmen who entered the Illinois country after the close of the American Revolution was Nicholas Jarrot, who married for his second wife Julia Beauvais of Ste. Genevieve, formerly of Kaskaskia. "The Beauvais were among the most influential families in Kaskaskia. In 1765 a member of this family had owned eighty slaves and had furnished to the royal magazine eighty-six thousand weight of flour which was only a part of one year's harvest") quoted from Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 216). Jarrot, now well to do, built himself a brick house. "All the bricks had to be made on the place. In 1799 the work commenced and continued until 1806. During that time the window panes had been sent for from France. There were no iron nails, wooden pins were used where they were needed" (quoted from Sibley Letters). The house was a two-story and attic structure, with a large hall extending the length of the house and ballroom across the front of the second story. The walls rested upon black walnut timbers laid upon bedded charcoal above sand and gravel. The walls were eighteen inches thick. "The hall became the center of the life of the house. Here before the huge fireplace on the western wall guests were received, while the children peeped over the railing of the stairs to see who had come. This hall was used as a dining room and a slave stood at each end with a huge fan to keep the flies from annoying those in the room" (ib.) "The amusements of Cahokia in the early years of the nineteenth century were much the same as those of the other French settlements. The Church had a large share in the social life of the community, as well as in the spiritual. After a prayer had been said at Mass [to] the patron saint of the particular feast day, the usual procedure was to dance. A traveller wrote: "The balls are usually opened at candlelight and continue until ten or twelve o'clock the next day. One of the pretty customs of the Christmas Mass was the choosing of young maidens of the congregation to take up the collection. Shrove Tuesday was Pancake Tuesday. At the parties on Tuesday night the French pancakes, piled high and cut like cake, were served. Those pancakes were as thin as paper and were made from sweet milk. This was almost the last event before Lent, as the next day—Ash Wednesday—at prime every one went to church to have the priest sprinkle ashes upon their foreheads." Space forbids quoting further from the interesting details, gathered by the author from many books of travel, showing the mode of life in Cahokia in the early nineteenth century.

Blessed Virgin in Greenland Inscriptions.—The organ of the Danish Commission conducting the Geographical and Geological Explorations in Greenland, entitled, "Contributions relating to Greenland," contains in its latest volume (Copenhagen, 1924) an article, "Interpretation of the Runic Inscriptions from Herjolfsnes," by Professor Finnur Jónsson. "It is a well known fact," he writes, "that runic inscriptions have formerly been found in Greenland, carved partly on stones, partly on wooden crosses. Two such crosses, bearing the inscriptions 'Maria' and 'Maia,' were found on a former occasion at Ikigait, the old Herjolfsnes churchyard." Herjolfsnes is a headland on the southern shore of Greenland, near Fredericksdal. Recent excavations at Herjolfsnes (1921) have brought to light other runic inscriptions on other small wooden crosses placed in coffins, some of which read as follows: "God the almighty guard Gudleif (a woman) well." "Torleiv made this cross in praise and worship of God the almighty." One cross has only the name "Maia," which Prof. Jónsson thinks is a mistake of the carver for "Maria," i. e., an invocation of the Virgin Mary to protect the grave and the dead person and secure to him eternal salvation." Following an invocation to "Maria," we find "Michae[l] owns me, Brigit," which the author interprets as meaning that the Archangel Michael has me, Brigit, under his special care. Another reads: "Mary, Eloi, John (the Baptist), Jesus my God, Father, Son and Spirit." On one limb of a cross we read: "May Jesus Christ help," and on the other limb, "Christ was born for us." The author states in conclusion: "There is a religious note sounded in these old inscriptions dating back 600 years. But the spirit is the same that we meet with, for instance, in the old Icelandic poems. Men feel their dependence on a higher power and try to secure its good will and protection, not only for the person hidden away in the earth but for the survivor (the carver of the runes). Also the dominant rôle played by the Virgin Mary in the inscriptions agrees well with what is known from Iceland, for instance from the poem Lilja. In point of time these inscriptions are not far removed from this poem. For they all date from about 1300." The carvers of the inscriptions he believes to have been priests who composed them for the laity in Latin and Icelandic. The Icelandic poem referred to has been translated: "Lilja (the Lily), an Icelandic religious poem of the fourteenth century, by Eysteinn Asgrímsson, regular of the Monastery of Þykkvibær [or Holyfell]. Ed. with a metrical translation, notes and glossary by Eiríkr Magnússon" (London, 1870). A copy is in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

One verse reads:

“With loving kindness, Mary, deign
My heart to fill, as I would fain,
That, if I might still farther bring
My lay, the praise therein should ring;
But higher praise, in verse made
On Christ’s dear Mother could ne’er be said,
Than that thou art by God alone,
O May, in purity outshone”—Lilja, stanza 95.

Catholic Slaves in Louisiana.—What were the practices of slave-owners in regard to the religious duties of slaves in Louisiana during the Spanish and French periods? An article entitled “Slavery on Louisiana Sugar Plantations” by V. Alton Moody, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for May, 1925, says of the religious life of the slaves: “The early French and Spanish law enjoined the observance of Sundays and holidays; masters were for bidden to work their slaves on those days in any field or at any other heavy labor.” (Edit du Roi. Paris? 1724. Art V) “After the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, masters were still prohibited from requiring their slaves to work in the fields on Sunday unless they paid them for it.” (Acts of the Territory of Orleans, 1806-07, June 7, 1806) “In addition to Sundays a large part of the planters gave their slaves Saturday afternoons to cultivate their own crops. A few gave all of Saturday when not behind with plantation work.”

“The Ursulines arrived in New Orleans August 7, 1727, and were soon recognized as a power for good in the colony. . . . Especially did the colored women and young girls console them by a radical change in their morale, so corrupt till then. . . . On all Sundays and feast days religious instruction was given to colored persons. Several hundred of them regularly assisted at these instructions. After the instruction they repaired to the Church to recite the beads.”

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL.

Chicago.

OUR EARLY HISTORY

PRIEST CHANGES IDEAS ABOUT ST. LOUIS

Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., Professor of Historical Method at St. Louis University has just returned from a sixteen month stay in Europe, which time was given over to research work in foreign Archives, particularly those of Paris and Rome. Father Garraghan's explorations were limited to the period of the American Revolution and he has made several discoveries of unedited documents, which promise to throw new light on those important days, when our country was in the making.

One discovery, which is worrying St. Louis historians, was that of a map. bearing the date 1700; and showing the City of St. Louis situated, as it is today, at the junction of the Mississippi and Des Peres rivers. The difficulty arises from the date on this map. For Laeade and his son-in-law, Choteau, to whom history has ordinarily assigned the honor of establishing Missouri's greatest city, did not set foot on the present site of St. Louis until 1764.

Father arraghan promises an explanation, in the near future, which will satisfy all interested in his unique discovery. His many friends, among Catholic historians of America, are highly expectant of the products, which they foresee, as a result of the studies of St. Louis University's well known historic writer who has already produced several books.

His works on the beginnings of Chicago and Kansas City have been given the highest praise, all over the country, for their deep interest and scholarly precision.—*New World*.

MISCELLANY

FOREIGN HISTORY NOTES

CENACOLO CONCEDED TO ITALIAN FRANCISCANS

BY JOHN GUNTHER

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Rome, Italy, October 19.—What has been known as the “cenacolo” (supper) dispute involving the rival claims of various governments to the place where Jesus celebrated the last supper has been settled, according to definite information given to the correspondent of The Daily News. This decision when officially announced will solve one of the most important international religious questions, ending a dispute that goes back ten centuries and at present involves Italy, Great Britain, Turkey and Spain.

The ecclesiastical settlement now made gives the jurisdiction to the Italian Franciscans, but the political adjustment will probably be referred to the league of nations.

The story of the “cenacolo” (supper room) is steeped in both romantic legend and divine significance. The “cenacolo” is on the site of a building in Palestine, where Jesus said farewell to the apostles at the last supper and where the “Holy Spirit” descended on the day of Pentecost.

TURKS CONTEND FOR SPOT

The first great complication arose from the fact that the Turks as well as the Christians venerated the spot. The Turks asserted that the same site concealed the tomb of David, who, like Abraham, is a Mohammedan as well as Hebraic prophet. The Christian basilica, built on the site in the tenth century, was one of the chief points in the struggle during all the crusades. It was won alternately by Moslems and Christians, for both of whom it has the highest religious and romantic association.

In 1333 King Robert of Naples succeeded in buying the cenacolo from the Turks on agreeing that it should be venerated perpetually. King Robert intrusted the task to the Franciscan friars, who restored two chapels and guarded the sanctuary for a century and a half.

FRANCISCANS RESTORE BASILICA

The Franciscans set about further restoration of the basilica, which had crumbled to dust, but in 1452 the Turks invaded the district in the name of the Prophet David. Thereupon another series of combats began and continued for a century. From 1551 until 1917, when General Allenby captured Jerusalem the cenacolo remained in the hands of the Turks.

Meanwhile during a thousand years the place of the last supper has been venerated in legend, dogma and art. Leonardo da Vinci's most famous painting is that of the last supper at the cenacolo.

After the world war the dispute broke out afresh each year, especially at Easter time, with fighting and bloodshed, the British being unable to protect the site from occasional scuffling by pilgrims, who are mostly Mohammedans.

TURKS, JEWS GRANTED ACCESS

Four countries are now trying to straighten out the matter, the Turks because of the tomb of David, Great Britain because of its political hegemony, Spain because the original Franciscans were Spanish, and Italy because its king is a descendant of the early king of Naples. As revealed to the correspondent of *The Daily News* the ecclesiastical claims have now been settled by granting control of the site in perpetuity to the Italian Franciscans. They must always be accompanied by one Spanish friar, who must permit Turkish and Jewish pilgrims to have free access.

The political claims have not yet been settled, but Great Britain and Italy will probably agree to submit the matter to the league of nations, whereupon the rule of the Franciscans will go into effect.

COLUMBUS DAY IN ITALY

(By Associated Press)

Padua, October 17.—The Italian government's decision to declare October 12 a national holiday had the double motive of honoring in a fitting manner the discoverer of the American continent and of combating the tendency to discredit the Italian nationality of Christopher Columbus.

Dr. Camillo Manfroni, prominent professor of history in the University of Padua, is behind a movement to hold demonstrations in all the Italian schools and public institutions, both in Italy and abroad, to refute arguments particularly that Columbus was a Spaniard.

"Until a few years ago," said Dr. Manfroni, "the fact that Columbus was born at Genoa was so universally established that too little attention has been paid to the contentions of Spanish 'historians' that the great navigator was a native of Spain. But now, the movement to uproot historical facts that have stood undisputed for centuries has become so general, claiming as adherents some of Spain's most erudite men of learning, that it can no longer be ignored."

Dr. Malfroni believes, however, that the movement can be effectively silenced, and the proper celebration of Columbus Day he believes to be one of the best ways to start.

ARCHEOLOGICAL FINDS IN AFRICA

BY MSGR. ENRICO PUCCI

(Rome Correspondent, N. C. W. C. News Service)

Rome, September 21.—How an apparently trifling discovery made during the routine of parochial duties led to the remarkable archeological revelations concerning the early Christian times of Northern Africa was related here by Father Delattre of the "White Fathers," who was in Rome recently with a Holy Year pilgrimage. When the pilgrimage of which he was a member was received in audience by the Pope the Sovereign Pontiff took the occasion to praise Father Delattre in public for his remarkable scientific achievements.

Going back to a time fifty years ago when he was a young priest working in Northern Africa under the direction of the famous Cardinal Lavigerie, then a Monsignor, Father Delattre told his story of the insignificant beginning of the great discoveries which have attracted world-wide attention. One day, he said, while he was crossing a field to visit a sick parishioner he noticed a stone fragment bearing the Latin letters "Euge . . ." While he was examining the fragment one of the Arab children accompanying him said:

"Father, if you like these stones, there are a lot of them in this field."

CHILDREN BROUGHT HIM INSPIRING STONES

The priest instructed the children to collect all of the stones they could find and then continued on his way. Returning when the sick call was completed he found that the children had collected fourteen fragments, all bearing phrases indicating that they came from an early Christian cemetery; such phrases as "in pace," "fidelis," etc. Further investigation showed him that the entire field was strewn with similar stones and in a few days he had collected 1,400 frag-

ments, all lying about on the surface of the ground. Monsignor Lavigerie's attention was called to these finds and he and Father Delattre decided, that the site must be that of a Christian cemetery of the first centuries. Monsignor Lavigerie authorized Father Delattre to lease the field and begin regular excavations and research.

Bases of pillars and a semi-circular wall soon came to light and these finds were brought to the attention of the famous Archeologist Giovanni Battista di Rossi, who declared the excavators had found the site of a great Christian Basilica. Encouraged they continued their excavations and soon had uncovered the entire outline of the ancient church, 66 meters long, 45 meters wide, and with nine naves divided by eight rows of columns. It was of the type of architecture found in many Mohammedan mosques in Northern Africa and Spain—in fact it is from early basilicas such as this that the Arabs copied their mosques. Altogether, about 20,000 fragments of the basilica were uncovered, all bearing inscriptions of one kind or another, but, strange to say, the name of the basilica itself has never been determined. One theory is that it was called the "House of Charity," based on the modern name of the district "Damous-el-Karitea," which some believe to be a corruption of the Latin "Domus Charitatis." The theory is not, however, generally accepted.

CHURCH IN WHICH ST. AUGUSTINE PREACHED

It was in another field nearby that the finding of similar fragments led to the excavation of the ruins of the so-called "Basilica Majorum," in which St. Augustine preached and where were found the tombs of Sts. Perpetua and Felicita, Saturus, St. Saturninus, St. Revocatus, and St. Secundulas, together with inscriptions telling of their martyrdoms.

Still another Basilica has been brought to light in this territory. It was a large edifice near the seashore with seven naves, an atrium, and funeral chambers. It is believed to have stood near the place from which St. Augustine embarked for Italy, leaving his pious mother, St. Monica, mourning. From this belief has originated the name given to the reconstructed edifice, "St. Monica's Tears."

Father Delattre's discoveries have brought him world-wide recognition as a scientist and many honors have been bestowed upon him. The French Government has made him a Chevalier and an Officer in the Legion of Honor and his fellow scientists have made him a member of the Institute of France. His discoveries are not limited to Carthage nor to evidences of Christian civilization only. He has also found valuable traces of Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek, Hebrew, Roman,

and Punic, antiquities. Among the Punic monuments are four sarcophagi, one of which, colored and of extraordinary beauty, is that of a pagan priest of Carthage. He has also found a cemetery dedicated to the priests, priestesses and magistrates of Carthage and the ruins of an amphitheatre, now being uncovered, will, it is expected, yield further valuable discoveries.

DEVOTION TO BLESSED VIRGIN INDICATED

One of the notable results of the excavations in Northern Africa, in so far as they relate to early Christian times, is the light they throw upon the devotion to the Blessed Virgin held by the Christians of those days. The image of Mary and invocations to her appear frequently. She is appealed to sometimes with the classic invocation, "Sancta Maria adjuva nos," and sometimes with the Greek title of Mother of God, "Teotoke." One of the finest monuments uncovered is a marble bas relief of the fourth century showing the Virgin and Child.

Father Delattre's visit to Rome has served to call attention to the approaching celebration of the centenary of the birth of Cardinal Lavigerie. The Pope will write a letter commemorating that event, it has been announced. The subject of the excavations in Northern Africa has attracted considerable attention among Americans, inasmuch as the research work has been very largely financed from that country through the efforts of Count de Prorok and others.

USE OF QUININE, KNOWN AS "JESUIT POWDER," LONG OPPOSED BY PROTESTANT PHYSICIANS

Ancient America's contribution to civilization is presented in an article by Herbert Joseph Spinden, printed in the August issue of the *Forum*. The author, a well-known anthropologist, makes out a much better case for the American Indians than those, who are not acquainted with the achievements of the Mayas, and other native nations who attained to considerable culture, realize.

Corn, at present one of the world's greatest staples, was domesticated by these early Americans. "Hundreds of fixed kinds of maize, adjusted now to dry land, now to wet," Prof. Spinden writes, "ranged in ancient America from the mouth of the Rio de la Plata to the mouth of the St. Lawrence." Then there was cotton, which, although known in other hemispheres, did not become an important fiber until the long American staple, cultivated by the natives of America, was introduced into Europe. "It is very clear," says this scholar, "that the industrialization of cotton in English factories was the first move in our present Mechanical Age and it was the old civilization of America that furnished the necessary product." Rubber, too, unknown to Europe before the discovery of

America, the Spaniards found in use among the Indians as early as 1540. Then there is quinine with its invaluable properties. The "white man's burden" would have become unbearable long ago, except for our knowledge of the preventive and curative nature of the Peruvian bark.

"If the Countess of Chinchon," writes Prof. Spinden, "had not experienced the curative properties of quinine in the native *Materia Medica* of Peru and spread its fame in Europe, it is far from certain that this most valuable of all medicines would have ever been discovered." What he does not say is that the introduction of "this most valuable of all medicines," which today "is taming tropical fevers and retrieving vast stretches of productive lands," was opposed because of its introduction into Europe under Catholic influence. We make the statement on the strength of an interesting remark found in Alexander von Humboldt's "Views of Nature." A chapter of this book is devoted to the Plateau of Caxamarca, in the land of the Incas, from whence the first quinine, brought to the attention of the Spaniards, was obtained. This leads the great naturalist, a Protestant, to discourse on the tree, from which the bark is obtained, which yields quinine, and also on the early history of quinine in Europe, where it first became known as "Countess Powder," after the return of the Viceroy mentioned to Madrid in 1640. Later the name was changed to Cardinal or Jesuit Powder, since Cardinal De Lugo spread the knowledge of its curative virtue, while the Jesuits were credited with being interested in procuring and sending it to Europe. Which reminds one that, while they brought the first orange trees from China to Portugal, and so helped transplant that valuable fruit to Europe and America, they also materially assisted the first settlers in Canada, and even in some parts of our country, by calling attention to the gin-seng which they found growing wild on this continent, while they knew that in China it was considered the most valuable of all medicinal plants.

However, according to Alexander von Humboldt, a new remedy, bearing so terrible a name as "Jesuit Powder," was not welcome to Protestant medical men. "It is hardly necessary to remark," says the noted traveler at the end of his chapter on the Countess of Chinchon, "that the hatred for Jesuits and the religious intolerance of Protestant physicians had something to do with the protracted quarrel regarding the usefulness or the injuriousness of the Peruvian bark."

So we have here another proof of the unwillingness of Protestants to accept a great boon, the most noteworthy case being the long drawn out rejection of the Gregorian calendar, emanating from a Catholic source. Because of this stupid intolerance, it ultimately became necessary to change the date of George Washington's birth from February 10th to the 22nd. At the time of his entry into this world, the Colonies, as well as England, still used the old calendar, as introduced by Julius Caesar, instead of the "Papal innovation." It took the English two hundred years to live down their prejudice and bring their calendars "up to date"!

C. B. of C. V.

The Mother Church of the Middle West, by C. H. Morrison, S. J.—The mention of Florissant usually brings to our minds the picture of the sturdy walls and glistening white tower of the Jesuit Novitiate as it sits upon its knoll, and gazes far off down the valley, truly the "Heart of the Province," and dear to the memory of every Missouri Jesuit. But the name has attached

to it more, both of history and of legend, than even the Novitiate with its hundred years of traditions embraces. The parish church of St. Ferdinand, still doing full duty in the village of Florissant under the charge of two of our Fathers, was busily at work even before the establishment of the Novitiate, and must be considered the very mother of Catholicity in the Middle West. It is the oldest church edifice in the state of Missouri, if not the oldest in the territory between the Mississippi River and the Rockies, and has been the witness of over a century of eventful history. In memory of this devoted service, and in token of the gratitude of the Catholics of the Middle West, the Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus of St. Louis will place a commemorative tablet on the church Sunday, June 14.

The little church is intimately linked with the early history of two important forces in the development of Catholicity in the Mississippi Valley, the Jesuit Fathers and the Religious of the Sacred Heart. As the heroic little band of Sisters were first in the field, we shall rightly begin by speaking of them.

The canonization of Mother Barat on May the 24th of this year is sure to arouse interest in all her early foundations, and Florissant, which always held a high place in her affections, should come in for its share. The founding of the convent at Florissant which was to become the first novitiate of the Society of the Sacred Heart in the United States was carried out by Mother Rose Philippine Duchesne, a woman of intrepid courage and great holiness. She has already been declared Venerable, and Pope Pius X on December 9, 1909, signed the decree introducing the cause of her beatification and canonization.

The nuns first established themselves in St. Charles across the Missouri River, but within a year were forced by circumstances to remove to Florissant. Two years after arriving in Missouri Mother Duchesne assisted Father Charles De La Croix, a diocesan missionary priest, in planning and erecting the little brick building which, with some improvements added half a century later, constitutes the present church of St. Ferdinand. The church, in accordance with Mother Barat's express wishes, was dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, being the first one so dedicated west of the Mississippi River. St. Francis Regis and St. Ferdinand are but secondary patrons. The saintly foundress, Mother Barat, had been loath to part with her eldest daughter, but at length in the spirit of St. Ignatius sending St. Francis Xavier to India, she bade her a long farewell with the words, "If in the country where you are going you were to do no more than erect one altar to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, it would be enough for your happiness in eternity." From her convent adjoining the church, Mother Duchesne refounded the abandoned house of her order in St. Charles, and established those in St. Louis, and Grand Coteau, Louisiana.

Two years later in June, 1823, the little church extended welcome hospitality to the pioneer band of Missouri Province Jesuits coming under the leadership of Father Charles Van Quickenborne to establish a novitiate and evangelize the Indians. Immediately after their arrival, Father De La Croix gave over the charge of the church to Father Van Quickenborne, and from that day to this the succession of Jesuit pastors has continued without interruption for over a hundred years.

For six days, while they were waiting to take possession of the farm, whose two poor log-cabins stood on the very site of the five great buildings of today, the Jesuit priests, scholastics, and brothers, who numbered twelve in all, were boarded and lodged by Mother Duchesne at Florissant on the grounds of the church and convent. Thus may St. Ferdinand's claim a share in the foundation of the novitiate, and in all the good which hundreds of Jesuit missionaries, preachers, writers, and educators, trained at Florissant, have caused to flow forth in numberless streams to irrigate and render fertile the vast mid-western field of the Church in America.

The year 1824 saw the establishment, in close connection with the church, of an Indian school for girls, taught by Mother Duschene's nuns, and intended to supplement the work of the St. Francis Regis Indian school for boys opened by the Jesuit scholastics at the Novitiate. This was the first successful attempt to organize a Catholic Indian school in the United States.

Over and above its intimate connection with the Novitiate, however, this "Mother Church of the Middle West" has had work of its own, enough for any parish to glory in. Its first pastor, Father Van Quickenborne, became a tireless and successful missionary among the Indians of southwestern Missouri and southeastern Kansas. It sent spiritual aid, too, to the ever growing settlements of pioneers in Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa. In 1835 Father Van Quickenborne visited Dubuque, and Keokuk, Iowa; Galena, Edwardsville and Springfield, Illinois; and in the same year performed the earliest recorded baptism and marriage ceremonies on the site of the future Kansas City, Missouri. The records of these apostolic journeys are preserved at St. Ferdinand's.

Not satisfied with the work thus sponsored, the devoted little church, longing to spread farther and farther the reign of Him Who dwelt in its tabernacle, fired with its zeal the heart of the most famous of American Indian missionaries, Father Peter De Smet, who was ordained priest within its walls in September, 1827, by Bishop Rosati of St. Louis. Going forth with its blessing, an ever cherished recollection, Father De Smet labored strenuously in the great vineyard of the west. He carried the knowledge of Christ first to the Pottawotamies of Council Bluffs, then crossing the Rockies, he penetrated to the Flatheads, Nez Percés, and Blackfeet of Montana and Idaho. His last great mission took him among the mighty Sioux, the "Lords of the Prairie," whose descendants are still the spiritual children of the Blackrobes at the Holy Rosary and Pine Ridge Missions of South Dakota.

Such are a few of the deeds by which St. Ferdinand's of Florissant has earned its title, "the Mother Church of the Middle West." Viewed by the passerby as it stands far back from the road, the little brick church looks commonplace enough, but history is eloquent in the recital of its past. Something of its former glory returned to it on the occasion of the centenary celebration of 1921.

The centenary, however, is past, and another will not be celebrated soon. St. Ferdinand's is out of the main current of the Catholic development of today, but it has not yet fulfilled its mission. It must live on to perpetuate the past, and to communicate to the brethren and successors of Van Quickenborne and De Smet that spirit which, as it formed the first, must continue to animate to the last the Jesuits of the Missouri Province.

University Chapel Consecrated.—On June 8, 1925, Cardinal Mundelein dedicated the beautiful chapel at St. Mary of the Lake. A press report reads as follows:

Prelate, priest and laymen joined yesterday in a spiritual and temporal memorial to Lieut. Edward Hines, Jr., who lost his life in France during the world war, when George Cardinal Mundelein consecrated the new \$500,000 chapel at St. Mary of the Lake Seminary at Mundelein. The chapel was presented to the archdiocese of Chicago, and to Cardinal Mundelein, by Mr. and Mrs. Edward Hines, as a memorial to their son. Six bishops, twelve monsignori and a large number of clergy and laity were present at the ceremonies which began at 6 o'clock.

Cardinal Mundelein, in accordance with the ancient rites of the Church, first consecrated the exterior of the church. Kneeling in prayer before the doors, while the seminary choir of sixty-five voices chanted the penitential psalms, he then arose and walked three times around the edifice, blessing the walls.

Returning to the front, he knocked three times at the doors, which were opened, and the prelate and his assistants passed down the main aisle to the sanctuary. With his crozier, the cardinal traced in ashes scattered in the aisle the characters of the Greek and Latin alphabets.

The interior of the church and the main altar was then blessed by his eminence, while the Rt. Rev. Alexander J. McGavick, D.D., bishop of La Crosse, Wis., and the Rt. Rev. Edmund M. Dunne, D.D, bishop of Peoria, consecrated the two side altars.

At 11 o'clock, a procession of the clergy, preceded by the vested choirs of Quigley Preparatory Seminary and St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, entered the church for the pontifical Mass, sung by the Rt. Rev. James A. Griffin, D. D., bishop of Springfield. Assisting clergy were the Rt. Rev. James Horsburgh, deacon of the Mass; the Rev. John Doody of Quigley Preparatory Seminary, subdeacon; the very Rev. Mons. D. J. Dunne, the Rev. Francis A. Ryan, assistant chancellor, and the Rev. Joseph Morrison, master of ceremonies.

Also present in the sanctuary were the Rt. Rev. Peter J. Muldoon, bishop of Rockford, and the Rt. Rev Henry Althoff, bishop of Belleville. The sermon was preached by the Rt. Rev. Francis Clement Kelley, bishop of Oklahoma. Cardinal Mundelein, garbed in the red "cappa magna," or great cape, and red biretta, attended by four pages, occupied the throne at the left of the sanctuary.

Mr. and Mrs. Hines, their son, Ralph, and close relatives occupied the front pews. The new chapel is the last link in the chain of buildings comprising the seminary, representing in all a total investment of nearly \$8,000,000.

The chapel is consecrated under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception.

ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME VIII

JANUARY, 1926

NUMBER 3

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CONTENTS

A REVIEW OF "THE CURIOUS LEGEND OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN KENTUCKY"	
<i>Rev. W. D. Pike, Bardstown, Ky.</i>	195
AMONG THE INDIAN CHIEFS AT THE GREAT MIAMI	
<i>Rev. Paul J. Foik, St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas</i>	215
THE SULPICIAN IN ILLINOIS	
<i>Rev. John Rothensteiner, St. Louis</i>	233
THE FIRST MARTYRS OF NORTH AMERICA	
<i>John J. Ryan, Monmouth, Ill.</i>	250
THE UNVEILING OF THE TABLETS	
<i>George W. Dixon, Chicago</i>	264
THE PIONEER EXPLORERS	
<i>Prof. A. C. McLaughlin, Chicago</i>	266
FIFTY YEARS OF HOSPITAL SERVICE	
<i>Rev. A. Zurbonsen, Springfield</i>	275
EDITORIALS	281
MISCELLANY	284

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A REVIEW OF "THE CURIOUS LEGEND OF LOUIS PHILLIPPE IN KENTUCKY"

Mr. Young E. Allison contributes to the July number of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, 1925, a paper entitled "The Curious Legend of Louis Phillippe in Kentucky" to which is appended "A Postscript to the Louis Phillippe Legend." This paper was read some time ago before the Filson Club in Louisville, and attracted considerable attention because of the literary attainments of the author, the novelty of his theme, and the historic prominence of Bardstown, the scene of his fairy tale.

Mr. Allison deftly blends two distinct stories into one, under the one caption, "The Curious Legend of Louis Phillippe in Kentucky," and the unwary reader may easily be led to think that the two stories are inseparable, each being an integral part of the whole. Had the caption "Curious Legends," instead of "Legend," been chosen by the author we think it would have contributed to that clearness, so desirable in an historical essay.

The two distinct stories relate to Louis Phillippe's benefactions to the Cathedral of Bardstown, and to Louis Phillippe's prolonged stay in Kentucky. Our author links these two stories together. He seems to imply, at least, that they must stand together or fall together. He evidently wishes to convey the impression that if Louis Phillippe did not sojourn for a number of months, or a number of years in Kentucky, then, necessarily, he did not bestow gifts upon the Bardstown cathedral. Accounting for the so-called legend of Louis Phillippe's lengthy stay in Kentucky, he prefaces his paper thus: "The explanation given is that he (Louis Phillippe) was there under

the fatherly care of Bishop Flaget. After the Prince was chosen constitutional King of France in 1830 the fable expands and has it that he sent handsome presents to the Bishop's cathedral of old St. Joseph as marks of gratitude and affection." Behold how naturally and gracefully under the magic power and sweetness of Mr. Allison's typewriter the two stories begin at the beginning to merge together and intertwine. They grow and expand together, the one sustaining the other, until they stand forth the finished product, the grotesque and highly amusing and exceedingly Curious Legend of Louis Phillippe in Kentucky.

The truth is, the question of the Prince's sojourn in Kentucky has never grown to Legendary importance. The story has always lacked popular credence. The oldest dwellers in Bardstown who have treasured the traditions of their fathers, affirm that the story was never generally believed. When Bardstown is represented as having credited this story until that happy hour when Mr. Allison freed their souls from bondage, and turned upon it the searchlight of truth, that representation is false, and does injustice to the people of Bardstown. Mr. Allison has dramatically killed a thing that had no life; he has in a most pleasing way annihilated that which had no being, and his friend, Mr. Hitchcock, labels the achievement, "Sound Scholarship." May a gracious heaven protect us from our friends.

The story of Louis Phillippe's visit in Bardstown has no legitimate connection with, or relation to Louis Phillippe's gifts to the Bardstown Cathedral. Bishop Flaget's "fatherly care of the handsome and unfortunate Prince" has nothing whatsoever to do with this same Prince's generosity towards the first cathedral west of the Allegheny mountains. We protest therefore, the forced connection and relation between the two stories. The only point of contact between them is that the hero of both is one and the same personage. With these few lines we can dismiss the first part of Mr. Allison's paper; the remaining pages of our reply will be devoted to his second claim, namely, that Louis Phillippe did not make a single gift to the Bardstown Cathedral.

After providing a catalogue of what he calls the outstanding gifts to the Bardstown cathedral credited to Louis Philippe, Mr. Allison proceeds to lay down a conditional proposition, thus:—"If it can be proved that he did not give them to the cathedral, but that on the other hand the origin otherwise of every one of them is historically known and long ago recorded, the whole myth fails." We beg to distinguish, as the school men say. If Mr. Allison has given to his readers a complete, accurate and understandable cata-

logue, and if he actually proves that the origin of all of them is historically known and long ago recorded, we will cheerfully concede his conclusion.

He does none of these things. His catalogue is defective, misleading and worthless because it does not comprise all the outstanding gifts credited to Louis Phillippe; because it contains gifts which neither history, tradition nor legend has ever credited to him, and because it fails to discriminate between the gifts credited to Louis Phillippe and those of other benefactors of the cathedral, thereby creating confusion in the minds of his readers and obscuring the question at issue. The defects of his catalogue will become more apparent as we proceed.

We may be permitted to venture a statement very much opposed to that of the distinguished writer and lecturer, namely, that Mr. Allison has most signally failed to prove the "origin otherwise" not of all, but of a single gift credited by historic record, tradition or legend to Louis Phillippe. Now for the evidence of this failure.

Able dialectician that he is, the advocate of the legend theory seeks first to break the weakest link in the chain and thereby gain the citadel. He marshalls his forces against the bell. Maes, Badin, Spalding and Webb are haled into court. We will hear what they have to say.

Bishop Maes: "The cathedral church of Bardstown was also presented with the beautiful bell of the Abbey of Ninove, cast by Mr. Sacre of Alost and bought in Alost by Father Nerynckx." Maes' testimony is ruled out of court, for our authors immediately declares that "this bell of Ninove was not the bell that went into the cathedral tower."

Father Badin, from Paris, to Father Chabrat, February 7, 1821: "I advise you to take the bell promised by your friend at Lyons, provided there should not be too great expenditure of cash, which is the thing most needed for the cathedral."

Father Badin, to Father Chabrat from Paris, September 5, 1823: "It appears to me you have grown fond of noise, since you bought the *gros bourdon* (the big bell) for the cathedral. Let me tell you that the sound of that bell is echoed even here in Paris where I lately saw Mr. Rousand. He tells me you have paid dearly for it, on account of the carriage from Lyons to Bordeaux. I am mistaken in saying you have paid. It appears probable that it will fall to my lot to discharge that debt, or part of it."

Bishop Spalding in the Life of Flaget: "M. Chabrat returned to

Bardstown from Europe, July 18, 1821, bringing the bell, weighing about 1,300 pounds, destined for the cathedral."

Webb in *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, in footnote to the first letter of Badin just quoted: "The identical bell referred to has been swinging for sixty years in the tower of the former cathedral of Bardstown, sounding its admonitions to prayer, knolling over the dead, and keeping count of the fleeting hours. Times numberless when a boy, I climbed with tireless feet the long flight of stairs that led to its home in the tower, where, as it appeared to me, it kept watch and ward over the town beneath, and miles and miles of surrounding country. It is fifty years since I saw it last, but the shapely contour, and above all, its melodious sound are at present to my fancy today as they were to my faculties of sight and hearing. Around its surface, and preceding the dates 'Lyons 1821' and the holy names 'Jesu-Maria' appears the sentence from Holy Writ: '*Audite verbum domini omnes gentes, et annuntiate in insulis quae procul sunt.*' The impression has been general, as well among the clergy as the laity, that this bell was a gift to Bishop Flaget from Louis Phillippe, Duke of Orleans, afterwards king of France, who desired thus to acknowledge his sense of obligation for courtesies extended to him by that prelate when he was an exile in the Island of Cuba."

The witnesses considered singly or collectively, do not prove the "origin otherwise" of the bell. They possibly prove that the bell which is now in the church tower originated at Lyons, was promised by some one there to Mr. Chabrat, that there was considerable expense involved in its transportation from Lyons to Bordeaux, and finally, that an impression was prevalent among both clergy and laity in the year 1884, when the *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* was published, that it was the gift of Louis Phillippe. The second letter of Badin to Chabrat may occasion some speculation as it does not seem to fit in with his first letter. In the one Badin speaks of the bell as "promised by a friend;" in the other as "bought." It is difficult to understand why Badin seems so much concerned about the carriage from Lyons to Bordeaux, and apparently not at all about the purchase price of the bell or the cost of transportation over the waters and through a considerable part of America to Kentucky. Could it be that the word "bought" in the second letter simply means that it was "paid for dearly" because of the expense of carriage? The whole letter as we find it in Webb's *Centenary* proves nothing, unless perhaps that the Proto-priest of America sometimes "kidded" his friend M. Chabrat. His letters hardly furnish sufficient grounds for the conclusion that Louis

Phillippe did not give the bell. Oral tradition is often a safer guide to the truth than the written word, and the tradition prevalent at the time of the publication of Webb's splendid history, until disproved, is more reliable as evidence than the two brief extracts from the letters of Badin to Chabrat. These letters do not prove that Louis Phillippe *did* give the bell, nor do they prove that he *did not*.

It may be pertinent here to remark that it is not argued, as our opponent claims, that persistent "tradition" in the absence of historic record should be accepted as proof. Mere persistency of tradition is not sufficient, but persistency joined with the fact that there is nothing intrinsic or extrinsic to the tradition that discredits it, gives it the first right to be heard, or, as it was argued, gives it the right of way. There is nothing intrinsically opposed to the belief that Louis Phillippe gave the bell. It was possible for him to give it, and even probable that he gave it, as its "origin otherwise" is not known, and as it is known that he gave other things of value to the cathedral. If there is anything extrinsic to the tradition that disproves it, it has not been produced. The only recorded evidence available that he did give the bell is Webb's footnote to Badin's first letter. This evidence while not conclusive is persuasive, as it witnesses to a tradition a long time existent, and continuing to a time when persons who knew the truth were yet living and could easily have been consulted. Mr. Allison's comment on the footnote, and his deductions therefrom are purely arbitrary and not justified by the known facts. What authority has he to assume that Webb's purpose in this footnote was "to specifically, but gently, correct the false impression of the King's beneficence?" Mr. Webb merely stated a fact, the fact that people generally believed that Louis Phillippe gave the bell to the cathedral. He says nothing to indicate that the impression may be false. It would be more in keeping with the character of a "conscientious and painstaking historian" to have corrected the prevailing impression if he knew it to be false.

Mr. Allison includes a remarkable mechanical clock in his catalogue. We have intimated that our historian's catalogue is worthless because it is too comprehensive. Its limits are very indefinite, but the remarkable mechanical clock is very definitely included within these limits. We simply deny that this clock was ever credited by tradition or legend to Louis Phillippe. We have no complaint to offer if Mr. Allison proves the "origin otherwise" of this clock. We merely object to its being catalogued with the gifts which the good people of Bardstown believe to have been bestowed upon the Bardstown cathedral by Louis Phillippe. It is easy to find traces of the

belief that he gave the bell, but it is extremely difficult to find such faith in Israel regarding him as donor of the clock. If such faith ever existed in the past it has become almost as extinct as the prehistoric mammal long before Mr. Allison's historico-literary creation illumined the world on the subject of Louis Phillippe in Kentucky.

The clock and the bell are of minor importance in this quest for the truth regarding Louis Phillippe's benefactions to the Bardstown cathedral. Even though it should be conceded that their "origin otherwise" has been discovered, our historian's proposition remains untenable and indefensible. The records pertaining to them are almost undecipherable, and leave room for uncertainty and conjecture. Those, however, concerning the paintings and some other gifts of Louis Phillippe are clear and unmistakable, though few in number. In this case it is not quantity, but the quality, that counts. These records cannot be blotted out by the mere assertion that they who are responsible for them did not know what they were talking about.

Here again we are constrained to object to Mr. Allison's catalogue; "A collection of very beautiful and carefully preserved oil paintings and altar pieces," is too indefinite. A generalization so comprehensive prepares the mind of the reader to accept without question that which immediately follows: namely, "all the paintings in the old cathedral, including those transferred to the Cathedral of the Assumption in Louisville, are to be credited to the loving provision of Father Neryneckx." Note how Mr. Allison sustains this affirmation. He quotes from Bishop Maes who is describing Father Neryneckx's visit to Belgium. Bishop Maes says: "About a hundred paintings which he had purchased had not reached Kentucky at the end of 1818. Among these were several valuable works of art, two of which he presented to the cathedral of Bardstown; a crucifixion and a scene of St. Bernard's life, a masterpiece which now hangs over the altar of St. Joseph in the cathedral of Louisville, and which he is said to have purchased from among the wrecks of a church that had recently been sacked by the French. This painting represents St. Bernard with the Sacred Host in his hand, giving a solemn reproof to William of Aquitaine for his schismatical and licentious conduct. Both of these valuable treasures were removed to Louisville on the transfer of the Episcopal See to that city in 1841." Nowhere does Maes claim that more than two of these hundred paintings were presented to the cathedral of Bardstown. These two have always been credited to Neryneckx. Mr. Allison offers another evidence of the "origin otherwise" of these beautiful and well preserved



IN OLD CATHEDRAL, BARDSTOWN, KENTUCKY

paintings. He quotes from Badin, writing from Paris in 1821: "I have packed several trunks at Orleans where I bought forty *tableaux d'autel* (altar pictures), an organ, etc." Mr. Allison argues from this that "if the lists are still in existence there is little doubt that the origin of every one of the valuable paintings in the old churches of the state may be established by them." This is very much like saying if we had the means of identifying the paintings which Badin packed in his trunk, with those in the cathedral, we could do so. Surely, Mr. Allison would not persuade us to believe that because Nerynckx purchased a hundred paintings and gave two of them to the cathedral, and because Badin bought forty altar pictures, none of which we can identify, therefore Louis Phillippe did not give any paintings to the cathedral, and *all* the paintings in the cathedral are to be credited to the loving prevision of Father Nerynckx.

A careful reading of Mr. Allison's paper reveals the fact that he has builded his beautiful and interesting story upon one imaginary rock, which, as it happens, turns out to be but shifting sand. Behold this unstable foundation of his entire "Legend" neatly quarried and carefully placed: "There is nowhere in all early church history, biography, memoir, letters or journals, that I have been able to find, of Louis Phillippe's residence there, or of any gift whatsoever made by him to the church." We commend the historian for the saving clause, "that I have been able to find." Possibly there is a vast unexplored region which would discover truths undreamed of in our philosophy. Many letters, memoirs and journals are hidden away in the archives of our country and of Europe, and who can count the letters and notes of the pioneer missionaries of Kentucky possibly owned and treasured by individuals. The letters of Bishop Flaget are numerous. They have never been collected. Few of them have been published. They are to be found in the archives of Quebec, Baltimore, Georgetown, Notre Dame and elsewhere. Many of them, no doubt, are in the archives of Rome and Paris. It is doubtful if Mr. Allison has searched all these storehouses of history in order to ascertain just what Bishop Flaget may have, or may not have said about Louis Phillippe's beneficence. It might, sometimes seem a bold thing to declare with all the dogmatism of the inspired writer that a thing is not so because I have not been able to find it.

His "proofs" concerning the vestments are equally forceful and convincing. The evidence of the "origin otherwise" of the vestments may be summed up briefly. It is comprised in the following: Fathers Nerynckx donated vestments to the cathedral. Fathers Neryncks, Badin and Chabrat all sought fine vestments from the

churches of Belgium and France. Granted, but in this we find no proof that Louis Phillippe did not give vestments to the Church. It has never been contended that Louis Phillippe was the sole benefactor of the cathedral. Nor does the fanciful conception of the Bishop, Louis Phillippe and the King's monogram, prove anything. We may mention here also, that Father O'Connell was correct when he stated to the author of the Curious Legend that there were neither in his church records, nor in the private or public archives of Bardstown any entry to show that Louis Phillippe resided there or made the gifts attributed to him. His statement merely shows the limitations of the church records and of the private and public archives of Bardstown.

It now remains to set forth the positive reasons why the people of Bardstown and elsewhere believe that Louis Phillippe gave some paintings and other things of considerable value to Bishop Flaget and the Bardstown cathedral. The first reason is the tradition itself which has never been disproved. Mr. Allison endeavors to explain, or account for the origin of the "Legend," and realizing that it cannot be done, assures us: "It is idle to seek the origin of such legends for they start in the air, and, like orchids, subsist upon it." Yet he tells us in the very beginning of his notable paper: "It is all founded upon Louis Phillippe's passage, without stop or stay, through Kentucky in April, 1797, and his casual meeting in Havana, Cuba, in the summer of 1787, with a young priest who afterwards became Bishop of Bardstown." Perhaps a closer investigation will disclose that it originated in the actual beneficence of the Prince. The Prince gave and the tradition was launched. At any rate this is the logical place to seek the origin. It did not start in the air, nor was it founded upon the casual meeting of the Prince and the priest. We know, for:—

Bishop Spalding says in his *Life of Flaget*, page 52:

"This act (Flaget's act of kindness) was remembered a long time afterwards, when Louis Phillippe was King of the French, and he, Bishop of Bardstown."

Spalding writes in his sketches, page 247:

"The cathedral was also provided with rich suits of vestments, golden candlesticks, a golden tabernacle and other splendid ornaments presented to the Bishop by the present King and Queen of the French."

We shall now present three historical documents, any one of which is sufficient to convince the reader that Louis Phillippe bestowed gifts upon the Bardstown cathedral.

In the Journal of the House of Representatives, December 30, 1824: Mr. Moore presented a petition of Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of the Roman Apostolical Church, of the Diocese of Bardstown, in the State of Kentucky, praying that the duties chargeable by law on some rich church vestments, and other articles of church furniture, presented to the petitioner by His Grace the Duke of Orleans, at Lyons, France, for the sole use of the church in which he exercises his religious functions, may be remitted.

From Gales and Seaton's Register of Debates in Congress, March 19, 1832: "The bill for the relief of Benedict Joseph Flaget was read for the third time. The bill authorized the remission of duties on certain paintings and church furniture, presented by the King of the French to the Catholic Bishop of Bardstown, Ky."

Extract from speech of Mr. Wickliffe, Representative from Kentucky: "Connected with this institution is the cathedral and church, the residence of Bishop Flaget. The expenditures incident to such an establishment as the two I have named, have been more than equal to the private means and contributions devoted to the purposes of the institution, and its founder has felt, and still feels the consequent embarrassments. These embarrassments have been in some measure relieved by considerable donations of church furniture and college apparatus from persons in Italy and France. The duties on such articles have been remitted heretofore by the liberality of congress. The articles upon which duties have been paid, and which the bill contemplates to refund, consist of paintings and other articles of church furniture, presented some years since by the Duke of Orleans, now King of the French, to the Bishop of Bardstown. He could not refuse to accept the offering; by accepting, however, he had to pay the duties which your revenue laws impose upon articles imported from abroad. These articles would not have been purchased and imported. They are specimens of art and taste, designed as ornaments to the house of public worship."

In Spalding's Sketches of Kentucky, page 245, we find the following: "An organ and two superb paintings, the one representing the crucifixion, and the other, the conversion of William, Duke of Brienne by St. Bernard, were placed in the church. They had been procured from Belgium by the venerable M. Neryneke and were presented by him to the cathedral. To these paintings were subsequently added several others which had been presented to the Bishop by the King of Naples and the Soverign Pontiff Leo XII." A footnote is added to the above: "These fine paintings with that of St. Charles

Boremeo were lately removed to Louisville by the Bishop on the transfer of the episcopal see to that city."

Any comment on the recorded evidence here submitted, seems wholly unnecessary. This evidence escaped the careful search of Mr. Allison as there is no reference to it in his paper read before the Filson Club in Louisville. It seems amply sufficient to disprove all his statements, namely: 1, that the "origin otherwise" of all the gifts to the cathedral can be proved. 2, That Louis Philippe gave none of them. 3, That they are *all* to be credited to the loving provision of Father Nerynckx. We must, however, follow the learned author even to the end.

For the sake of clearness, before considering our author's addition to his original paper in the form of a "Postscript to the Louis Phillippe Legend," it may be well to premise, contrary to his statement, that Bishop Spalding did not "recast his first fragmentary sketch of 1844 into the full life of Flaget in 1852 (as Father O'Connell later came to recast the bell a second time)." "The Full Life of Flaget is not a recast, a sort of revised edition of the Sketches. It is an entirely distinct work, not a remoulding of old materials. The Sketches devote perhaps a dozen pages to Bishop Flaget, dealing chiefly with his elevation to the episcopacy and his advent into Kentucky, while the "Full" life is a book of more than five hundred pages, and is concerned solely with the biography of Bishop Flaget. This observation may be useful inasmuch as the distinguished author of the Curious Legend informs us that Spalding, in full life omitted the passage about the gifts as Father O'Connell omitted the inscription on the bell when it was recast. He evidently wishes to convey the impression that Spalding, before he wrote his later work, had come into the possession of a fuller knowledge, had seen the error of his ways, and sought to cure the error made in a previous work by omitting the same error in a later work. We say it with all respect, but a scholar, a gentleman and a Bishop as was Spalding, should have known that while it is commendable to give up sin, yet, that it is necessary in order to obtain absolution, to confess and repent. The scope of Spalding's later work did not demand that he repeat what he had written in an earlier work. It did demand that he retract, if he was guilty of error. This he did not do. Hence Spalding's statements in the Sketches stand.

Recording the incident of the meeting of Flaget with Louis Phillippe in Cuba, and the presentation of a purse to the latter, Spalding remarks: "This act (the Bishop's courtesy) was remembered long afterwards, when Louis Phillippe was King of the French,

and he, Bishop of Bardstown." Mr. Allison takes occasion to observe that "this was exactly the place to record in text, or by footnote, that it was remembered by splendid gifts of pictures, vestments and golden furniture for the Bishop's cathedral." Evidently Spalding judged otherwise for he contents himself with the bare statement that Louis Phillippe remembered the incident. We are not justified in assuming that Spalding was either ignorant of what he was writing about, or that he was writing in sarcasm, gentle or otherwise. Spalding wrote to be understood by his readers. His readers would have been unable to detect the sarcasms, if any lurked within the statement, for the imple reason that it was supposed, if we are to believe our author, to be connected with an incident which Spalding relates a hundred pages later on. The book would have to be read backwards to enable the reader to perceive the sarcasm. He would have to know beforehand of Louis Phillippe's cold reception of the Bishop on a certain occasion. When or how this act of courtesy was remembered we are not told by the biographer of Bishop Flaget, nor do we need to know. In the light of present day knowledge available on the subject, we have no reason to question Bishop Spalding's plain statement of fact, nor to assume that he did not mean just what he said.

We think Mr. Allison was in error when he penned the following paragraph of his Postscript: "Moreover when in the Life he comes to describe the building of the Cathedral of Bardstown, he mentions Father Nerynckx's gift of superb paintings, Father Chabrat's of the bell, and the generosity of contributors, but not a word is said of the alleged gifts of the French King." If we are to understand by the Life, the biography of Bishop Flaget, we are constrained to say that no mention of the aforesaid gifts is made therein. The only mention of the cathedral or of its contents found in the biography is the one sentence: "A fine structure in the Roman-Corinthian style." If he is referring his readers to Spalding's sketches, as we think he is, then we must take exception to the above paragraph. Nowhere is mention made of Chabrat's *gift* of the bell. We would also call attention to the paragraph in the Sketches immediately following the one referred to by Mr. Allison. In this paragraph we find a list of gifts which the author of the Sketches informs us were the gifts of the French King. Hence it is an error to state that "not a word is said of the alleged gifts of the French King."

Mr. Allison questions the competency of the authorities we have introduced. He doubts their accuracy, and their opportunities to know the facts and, therefore, subjects them to rigid examination,

“to determine accuracy or error and the opportunities of witnesses to know the facts.” Bishop Spalding is the first to be called to the witness stand. To summarize briefly, the author of the *Curious Legend* contends that Spalding, prior to writing his *Sketches of Kentucky*, had not come into intimate contact with Bishop Flaget, and that he could not, owing to this want of intimate contact, have known of Louis Phillippe’s benefactions. Ignorant of the truth about the matter, and accepting the prevalent impression as the truth, he wrote accordingly. Later, having come into closer contact with Flaget, he came into possession of the full knowledge of the truth, and consequently, in his later work, *The Life of Bishop Flaget*, omitted all mention of the gifts. Replying to this rather unusual way of reasoning, we might show that the most cordial relations existed between Spalding and Flaget from the beginning of the young priest’s career in Kentucky to the death of the saintly prelate. The relation or contact was akin to that of Father and son. On the one hand there were love, confidence and encouragement; on the other, obedience, reverence and affection. It is not, however, by this contact, whether close or remote, that we are to judge Spalding’s fitness to pronounce upon the benefactions of the Prince of Orleans, or of Spalding’s liability to err in a matter of this kind. Intimate contact, even with those who know, is not a prerequisite for the gathering of data for an historical work, nor for verifying that data. Neither can it be successfully maintained that Bishop Flaget was the sole source from which Spalding could have obtained the information concerning the Prince’s liberality. At the time Spalding wrote, these things were matters of general knowledge. The *dramatis personae* were yet living and on the stage, and it were a simple and easy thing to verify all the facts pertaining to the question. There is no valid reason to suspect Spalding of either ignorance or inaccuracy. That he did not repeat in a later work what he had written in the *Sketches* was due to the fact that there was no need for repetition. Had there been need for correction, it is quite probable that the correction would have been made in the later work.

The paragraph in the Postscript which refers to Bishop Flaget’s journey to Europe (1835-1839) is, to say the least, astonishing. This paragraph deals with Chapter XIII of the *Life of Flaget*. In this chapter the good Bishop’s “associating with archbishops, bishops, mayors, prefects, marquises and counts,” is recorded. Popes, emperors and kings might have been added to this list of notables. The point in the paragraph to which we would call attention is the statement: “The gifts made to him are mentioned. But nowhere does

Louis Phillippe appear." The unsophisticated reader might readily conclude on reading this paragraph that the great pioneer Bishop was deluged with gifts while on this journey through Europe, (and it may be so), and that Spalding mentions them all but forgets our poor king. The fact is but two gifts are mentioned in Chapter XIII: "The Holy Father presented him a full costume of splendid material, and granted him other favors. The Bishop of Angers presented him a superb soutane." That is all. Surely there was no occasion for Spalding to mention in this chapter the gifts received a long time previous from Louis Phillippe, and surely the author of the Curious Legend does not from this omission argue the improbability of Louis Phillippe's ever having given anything to Bishop Flaget.

The next witness to be examined, "to determine accuracy or error and the opportunities of witnesses to know the facts," is Mr. Wickliffe, one time representative from Kentucky. Like Spalding, Wickliffe is supposed to be merely a retailer of popular opinion when, in his speech advocating the remission of duties on certain paintings and other things, he declares them to be gifts of "The Duke of Orleans, now King of the French." Mr. Allison maintains that Wickliffe was only voicing in his speech the prevailing impression because he nowhere speaks with authority or quotes Bishop Flaget. Just what the author means in this particular instance by "speaking with authority," it may be difficult to determine. He probably means that Wickliffe was not specially and specifically designated by Flaget, or authorized by him to proclaim before Congress the liberality of the Duke. If we grant this, and grant that he did not quote from Flaget, by what "Laws of Logic" are we justified in the conclusion that Wickliffe did not know what he was talking about? What evidence have we that Wickliffe was the unsuspecting victim of legendary gossip? Wickliffe may stand aside.

We now summon from the dead past Mr. Moore, Representative from Kentucky in 1824. The cathedral was completed and dedicated in 1819. It would seem that even at this early date the "Legend" had already taken root and extended even to the Nation's Capital. We have before us a photostat copy from the "Journal of the House of Representatives," available through the courtesy and kindness of the present representative from Bardstown, the Honorable Ben Johnson. We here submit a facsimile of this photostat copy, diacritics and all: Mr. Moore, of Kentucky, presented a petition of Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of the Roman, Apostolical Church, of the Diocese of Bardstown, in the State of Kentucky, praying that the duties chargeable by law" on some rich church vestments, and other

articles of church furniture," presented to the petitioner by His Grace the Duke of Orleans, at Lyons, in France, for the sole use of the church in which he exercises his religious functions may be remitted; which petition was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means. The author of the Curious Legend comments as follows on this entry in the House Journal: "The entry by the clerk, judging by the use of quotation marks, is evidently a rendering of the remarks made by Mr. Moore upon introducing the bill. The original bill had not been found by the clerk of the house. In the printed copy there is no mention of any donors. It is considered doubtful if any written petitions were filed. Requests and motions were considered and spoken of as petitions." If we understand these comments correctly the author of the Curious Legend wishes his readers to infer that the remarks of Mr. Moore do not express the mind of Bishop Flaget. The quotation marks referred to are presumably the inverted commas enclosing the words "on some rich church vestments and other articles of church furniture" as these are the only quotation marks that photostat copy reveals. We assume that not these words only, but the entire entry, are to be regarded as the remarks of Mr. Moore, which would include the words, presented to the petitioner by His Grace, the Duke of Orleans. Mr. Moore, therefore, states that these things were presented by Louis Phillippe. But "In the printed copy there is no mention of donors." In the printed copy of what? We presume, of the bill. What of it? Congressional bills are generally restricted to what is essential. The essential thing of the bill in question was the remission of duties on certain articles of church furniture. The names of the donor of this church furniture was only incidental. It could, therefore, be well omitted from the bill introduced by Mr. Marvin. It would be interesting to know how Mr. Moore acquired the information that these articles of church furniture, etc., were donated by the Duke of Orleans. We also may be permitted to wonder why Bishop Flaget did not deny these repeated statements made in the Congressional halls and elsewhere, attributing to Louis Phillippe's beneficence beautiful paintings, rich church vestments and other things. It is very probable that he read the Sketches written by Bishop Spalding, and we are amazed that he did not demand the correction of so many erroneous statements. It surely could not be that the good Bishop Flaget suffered false pretenses in order to further his petition for the remission of duties. Why did he not correct these Representatives in Congress? Why did he permit false statements to go unprotested?



IN OLD CATHEDRAL, BARDSTOWN, KENTUCKY



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In the paper we are reviewing occurs the remark: "In the comprehensive Catholic Encyclopedia no article remotely concerning the Diocese of Bardstown or its successor mentions his (Louis Pihl-lippe's) name." It does not occasion great wonder that the name of Louis Phillippe is not mentioned biographically or otherwise, but it does beget a little surprise, to find that Bardstown, the great Mother See, does not receive more attention. "Bardstown, see Louisville," so the story in the Catholic Encyclopedia begins. Other churches and institutions of the Diocese are found in all their pictured glory in the pages of the Encyclopedia, but St. Joseph, the cathedral built in the forest primeval, the cathedral which saw the planting of the mustard seed, the cathedral which stands today an architectural masterpiece, a beautiful monument to the sublime faith, to the holy ambition, to the heroic zeal of pioneer bishop, clergy and people, fails to find a place in the Catholic Encyclopedia's illustrated history of the rise and progress of the faith in Kentucky. Bishop Flaget, in a letter addressed to the Bishop of Quebec tells of the beginning of this noble and notable structure. He tells of the laying of the corner-stone, which, was at the same time, the laying of the corner-stone of all the great churches of the South, the West and the North-west.

Loretto Monastery, (Ky) 1816.

To the Bishop of Quebec.
Monseigneur;

Poor though I be, my aspirations are very high; for in a few weeks I am going to Bardstown, with all the ecclesiastics I can gather, to lay the corner-stone of my cathedral. This cathedral is to be a hundred and twenty feet long, that is, thirty for the sanctuary, ninety for the nave, and sixty feet in width. The foundations are to be of stone resting upon rock; the remainder of the building to be of brick. The style is to be gothic throughout. The builder, who is a very good Catholic, believes that it will cost from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars to finish the interior—a prodigious sum, which assuredly will never be found in the treasury of the Bishop of Kentucky, but rather in the inexhaustible riches of divine Providence. Such being my belief, I trust that you, Monseigneur, and your clergy will be the instruments of Providence and procure for me whatever assistance you can to aid me in erecting this pious monument, the first of its kind in this vast territory, and one which will give to the Catholic religion a character of respectability and stability proof against storms and tempests. The Protestants of Bardstown and its vicinity have so urged me to undertake this work that I should have considered myself guilty of sin had I not acceded to their solicitations; they subscribed, almost entirely amongst themselves, nearly ten thousand dollars, and I hope to get four or five thousand more in the country, but the remainder must come from the well-disposed and

charitable of other places and other religions. Assist me, Monseigneur, in this pious undertaking and whilst thus serving the cause of religion you will in a very special manner oblige him who has the honor to be with the most profound respect your humble and obedient servant,

BENEDICT JOSEPH,
Bp. of Bardstown.

In connection with the above very interesting letter we take the liberty of inserting an extract from an article written nearly thirty years ago for the *Sacred Heart Messenger*, by the well known Jesuit writer, Father Spalding, who grew up in the shadow and under the inspiration of the old cathedral, is both interesting and charming:

“A traveler from Charleston, S. C., found himself in the solitary aisles of a great cathedral, a thousand miles west of the Atlantic seaboard. On every side of him rose massive columns with varied flutings and leafy canopy; great arches stretched overhead, and on the snowy ceiling were wrought every form of magic tracery and fantastic arabesque; yet the temple was not the handiwork of man. Its columns were of stately trees, and its arches of snow-laden branches. Like the fanes of ancient heathendom it offered no solace to the traveler’s heart; so he pressed on from its chilly naves to another temple where dwelt the living God whom he had come to adore on Christmas day. As he emerged from the forest in central Kentucky there loomed up before him the place towards which he journeyed. Only a part of it was visible, the slender spire and cross which crowned it standing out distinctly against the darkened horizon. It was the old cathedral of Bardstown; and to it the stranger was going to witness the impressive ceremonies of Christmas, the beauty and glory of which had not only reached the Eastern States, but had been described in France and other countries of Europe.

“The cathedral soon disappeared from sight, and he again became entangled in the winding paths of the forest. He was in a wilderness. To the south and west and north the forest stretched out unbroken and interminable; while to the east, as far as the rugged range of Allegheny Mountains, more than five hundred miles away, though many a giant tree had fallen before the axe of the frontiersman, still the sparse settlements, scattered over so large a territory had little more than scarred the vast timbered region. During many months of journeying from the Atlantic the traveler had seen but few buildings larger than the cabin of the frontier settler. Great was his surprise, then, to find himself before a spacious cathedral, one of the few imposing structures west of the Alleghenies. Had the little town where the new cathedral had been built stood on the shores of the great lakes, or on a navigable river communicating with the cities of the east, the surprise would have been less; but no such advantages of location were enjoyed by Bardstown, at whose eastern extremity stood the St. Joseph’s Cathedral. It was an isolated town, about forty miles south of Louisville, then a struggling village on the banks of the Ohio.

“Just why Bardstown should have been chosen for a settlement is now an enigma. Perhaps the cool springs which gushed out from the limestone cliff enticed the first settlers to build their log cabins nearby; perhaps the cave like a mighty rampart, offered shelter and protection from the Indians. Even today one of the streets of the little town runs sheer over the impending bluff leading to the spring below. There were other springs in abundance which fed a small stream and afforded water power for a grist mill. Later on in its history it boasted the title of the “Athens of the West.” It had a college and three academies. Two papers were published there, *The Minerva* and the *Catholic Advocate*. The ablest lawyers pleaded at its bar and John Fitch, the forerunner of Fulton in the invention of the steamboat, was one of its distinguished citizens. While visiting, a guest of the old Kentucky home of John Rowan,, that writer of popular songs, Foster, composed the familiar, “My Old Kentucky Home.”

Such was Bardstown, which despite its isolated position thrived and prospered for more than a half century. It became the nucleus around which centered the Catholic settlements of the West. To Bardstown Bishop Carroll looked when, in 1808, he proposed to erect a See for the vast stretch of country west of the Alleghenies. New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Bardstown, each was chosen as a site for a future bishopric. What an honor for the little town. How changed since the days of its exaltation. It has remained but a small town. Still it was great in its time, and held under its episcopal sway the extensive territory from the Alleghenies to the far rolling prairies beyond the Mississippi. Its glory has long since departed, but the old cathedral which it erected in its prime, still stands, a beautiful and historic monument. Every year thousands of tourists visit the old cathedral, now St. Joseph’s Church, to view the beautiful paintings which hang upon its walls. These paintings were the gifts of kings.

We shall ask the reader to join us in spirit and to witness what the visitor saw in the old cathedral of Bardstonw, on that Christmas day, more than a hundred year ago. The account was published in the *South Carolina Miscellaney*, in 1824. “The crowds I found around the church, at one o’clock at night, gave me an anticipated idea of the greatness of the solemnity. Scarcely had the doors been opened at half past two, when every pew and seat and place were occupied. The singing of the church delighted me, and the view of the clergy in choir dress, together with the brilliancy of the illuminations perfectly made present to my mind the night when the angels, surrounded with heavenly splendor, sang the joyous hymns of peace to men and glory to God. You will certainly imagine that I exag-

gerate, but I pledge you my honor I was never transported out of myself as on that occasion. The three lustres that hang from the ceiling, the two placed at the extremities of the high altar, the four candles in the form of semicircle burning in the space between the crucifix and the wall, the two triangular rows of lights on each side of the altar, the triple semicircular row on each window, with candles around the windows and the other parts of the church, diffused throughout the building the greatest splendor. The Bishop's chair assumed a new appearance, conformable to the general magnificence of the festival. A purple canopy with some other ornaments served to render it worthy of the august personage that filled it. On the opposite side sat his coadjutor who officiated dressed in sacred robes which, I think, could scarcely be equaled by any this side of the Atlantic. The solemn rites of the Holy Sacrifice performed with the air of the most unfeigned piety; the accompaniment of a large organ to the numerous choir that sang the divine praises; the zealous discourse of the college president; and above all the vast number of communicants, perhaps not less than two hundred at the first Mass, together with the illuminations, concourse and other particulars already mentioned, produced in me the most extraordinary sensations. I believe that in few churches could I have witnessed the beautiful ceremonies that I witnessed that Christmas morning in that backwoods cathedral."

With this little digression we come back to the Postscript to the Louis Phillippe Legend for a concluding word. This paper is intended in no sense as an apology for Louis Phillippe. If the author of the Curious Legend chooses to regard him as one who never gave anything to anybody, we shall not object. The historic facts seem, however to be against a conclusion so extreme. Prescinding from the gifts to Bishop Flaget and to the Bardstown cathedral, history is witness that Louis Phillippe has given "something to somebody," nor is it necessary to dig down into the "musty depths of the Egyptian tombs" to find evidence of these gifts. The musty files of contemporary newspapers suffice for the purpose. The Catholic Telegraph of Cincinnati, under date May 6, 1847 tells of a gift of Louis Phillippe to St. Xavier's College of that city. "In the year 1846 a petition was addressed to the Queen of France, requesting some ornament for the sodalists' chapel of St. Xavier's College, Cincinnati. The reply to this request came in the form of a painting of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, out of the King's private gallery, and reached the President of the College, Father Elet, in March. The canvas, nine by four, contains twenty-four figures, and

at the bottom on the richly gilt frame is the following inscription: "*Donne par le Roi en 1846.*" This painting still adorns the chapel of St. Xavier's High School. Mr. Allison thinks that the Queen was the real donor on this occasion. If so, one can only hope that His Majesty did not discover the absence of the missing picture because of the pointed and unpleasant questioning to which the custodian of the King's private gallery would have undoubtedly been subjected.

Traces of Louis Phillippe's generosity and liberality are sometimes found in most unexpected places. Reading a volume the other day, written by a former professor, we chanced upon the following: "A chapel built by Louis Phillippe of France, and a more recently erected convent now crowning the hill of Byrsa, are about to receive additions, alike extensive and monumental, and may, perhaps, form the nucleus of a modern Carthage." (Vuibert's *Ancient History*, P. 440.) This little item found in ancient history, is confirmed by a more recent work, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 11, under "Bourgade": "He (Bourgade) was put in charge of the chapel which Louis Phillippe (1830-48) had erected on the spot where St. Louis died etc." Abbott, the biographer of Louis Phillippe writes in his "*History of Louis Phillippe*," P. 165: "During his exile in England at his palace, he devoted his time to the administration of his sumptuous household. His mansion was thronged with distinguished guests—he gave so much help to the exiled nobility of France, that it required a special bureau to examine the claims of those to whom he disbursed bounty."

Not only Louis Phillippe and the Queen, but the children were patrons of art and music. Artists and musicians were welcome at his palace. He found time to listen to a new organ in a church, and to give a special gift to a subject who saluted him graciously on the street. (See "*An Englishman in Paris*" Vol. 11, P. 1p.)

We have followed the distinguished author of "*The Curious Legend of Louis Phillippe in Kentucky*" and of the "*Postscript to the Louis Phillippe Legend*," even to the end, and it does not appear that he has cited a single historic record, or proffered a single valid reason that militates against the accepted tradition that Louis Phillippe was a benefactor of the Bardstown cathedral.

This discussion may seem to be "much ado about nothing"; Louis Phillippe's generosity towards the old cathedral is, however, a fact, though of such diminutive importance that the chronicles of the early missionary days of the church in Kentucky, almost failed to note it. The learned author of the *Curious Legend* has, in a measure, become

a benefactor to the history of the church in Kentucky, in that he has caused to be collated the meager but unquestionable evidence of the fact. He threatens, however, to precipitate a new tradition, a tradition false and erroneous, namely, that all the treasures of the old cathedral are due to the loving prevision of Father Neryneckx. It becomes necessary to reaffirm and reestablish the old truth, hallowed by the traditions of a century, lest error usurp the place of truth, and fancy supersede fact.

It is not pleasant to controvert the views and opinions of one who has spoken so well and kindly of things and persons Catholic. Like our courteous opponent, we would not rob the missionary of his glory to exalt the King, for we love the apostles of Kentucky for what they were and what they did. We cherish the relics of the olden days, mute witnesses to the sowing of the seeds of faith in Kentucky soil. First and foremost of these relics is the cathedral, which still stands in all the vigor and freshness of youth. We value the paintings, not because they are gifts of kings, but because they are works of art, of art whose theme is Christian, picturing to us, as they do, love in its highest manifestation, courage and zeal, inspiration and penitence and eternal glory. We value them because they speak to us of the past and recall to our minds the lofty ambitions, the labors and the ideals of the apostles of Kentucky. For these men even the works of the master artists were not too good for the church in the wilderness. They sought not their own, but the glory of him whose tabernacle is with men, even within the consecrated walls of this cathedral.

Bardstown, Kentucky

W. D. PIKE

AMONG THE INDIAN CHIEFS AT THE GREAT MIAMI

In 1786 there was a growing state of uneasiness among the western settlers that the invasions, robberies, murders and other crimes, perpetrated by the Indians of different tribes would break up their homesteads or bring about a general war with the savages—a war, if necessary, of extermination, for exasperation was at its height among these frontiersmen. As the attacks became more frequent, the Commissioners of Indian Affairs for the United States Government and also officers from the adjoining states, each within his own jurisdiction made expeditions of investigation to find out conditions as they really existed in the settlements.

At this time the western part of New York state was still considered as in the depths of the wilderness; the Ohio boundary lands were dense forests primeval; the principal highways thither were the great rivers and their tributaries; and then came the secluded and winding trails to the great fertile prairies beyond.

Into that country shrouded with awful mystery and blood-stirring adventure the children of destiny and of the nation's future greatness were soon to be cast. The rolling back of the dismal curtain showed scene after scene of savagery and blood-thirstiness comparable in some instances to the worst conflicts of the ages of discovery and exploration. Every step westward was only won after fierce struggles, much toil, continual sacrifices and discouragements. To make matters worse the English border ruffians unmindful of their recent treaty obligations incited the Indians to continual acts of hostility and treachery. These disturbers sometimes disguised themselves with feathers and war paint to aid the native tribes. A cruel and merciless bloodshed resulted. "Men went out in the morning to plough and in the evening were found dead in the furrow."

The savages were frequently ambushed along the wooded shores of the waterways and many prospective settlers became the victims of their horrible barbarities and frightful butcheries. Indian Rock near Portsmouth on the Ohio river was a sort of look-out place where boats could be spied for miles as they descended the stream and here the natives enticed the unsuspecting whites arriving at this point. That spot became the ground for wholesale and cold-blooded slaughter; and after these atrocious murders of entire families had been committed, the boat-loads of corpses were sent adrift to tell the ghastly story to the neighboring settlements, to spread consternation and

dismay everywhere on the frontier. Judge Harry Innes in a letter to the Secretary of War in 1790 stated that during seven years the Indians had killed or captured fifteen hundred persons and he estimated the number of stolen horses to be more than twenty thousand.

An officer of distinction writing a letter to a gentleman in Carlisle, dated "Bank of the Ohio, above the Big Konhaway, 12th of October, 1785," gives the following particulars:

"I take this opportunity to inform you that I have got this far without any manner of accident or even a sick man, notwithstanding the low state of the river, which had frequently kept them in the water and carried me a tedious voyage. I have met several people on the river who give different accounts of matters; some are very much frightened and tell amazing stories; others, less so, contradicted these; however I believe the fact is, that the Indians frequently steal the people's horses, and sometimes kill people which, I fear, will be the case till we are more their masters by possessing the western posts. This opinion is so much your own, that little is requisite to be said on it. I find this treaty will be of greater consequence than any yet concluded. I expect it to be transacted in the presence of a great number of the principal people of the lower country, and with a very large collection of Indians, and that any decisions or determinations, will be succeeded with strict punctuality, as the Indians stand in some awe of these people, who will be witnesses of all that will be done, so that ignorance can be no excuse or will break of treaty be suffered from these premises. I have great hope that the business will be attended with most happy and beneficial consequences to our country in general.

"I am greatly surprised at the progress which government has made in the western world. They are beginning to be of consequence not only to the states to which they belong, but to the confederation at large; they will certainly in a short time, rival the old, or Atlantic part of the states in some of the principal articles of export.

"The division line of the state of Pennsylvania and the United States, the work of the great Rittenhouse, is a monument, not only to his abilities, as a mathematician, but his perseverance and industry as a great and good public servant, it is also a measure of great wisdom in the state, as it fixed their boundary and jurisdiction determinately, and transmits it without equivocation to posterity. His exactness is beyond my idea of these things."

About the same time, Oct. 13, 1785, a letter from Fort Pitt to a gentleman in Middletown indicates the movement of troops to the West:

"We marched from West-Point the 7th of September with a full company of seventy men, completely equipped with arms, clothing, and camp equipage. The clothing was very good, the coats excepted, which are coarse. We arrived at this post yesterday, after a march

of thirty-six days, with as little troubles as could be expected on so long a march, and with recruits.

“The company is healthy and in good spirits except two men, who were left upon the road, by reason of their sickness. Eight deserted from us during our march, and we were so unfortunate as to retake none of them. We shall remain at this post but one or two days. Colonel Harmer met us five days before our arrival on his route to New York. He informs us that our destination is down the river Ohio, as far as Muskingum, which is one hundred and seventy miles distant, where we are to build a stockade fort to prevent our being insulted by the Indians, and huts for the winter. Major Doughty, with a company of New York troops, is now at Fort McIntosh, waiting our arrival, when we shall go down the river together. Major Hamtrach was at West-Point when we departed, with a company nearly complete, and expected to march on in a few days. Colonel Harmer expects to send on two companies more from the state of Pennsylvania this fall. One company that has re-enlisted from the year’s men, has gone down to the Miami with commissioners, upon the treaty. The whole force here will then consist of six companies. Colonel Harmer will exert himself to have a respectable garrison in the Indian country this winter. We flatter ourselves we shall spend the winter, very agreeably, as it is excellent hunting and fishing where we are to quarter. The commissioners departed from Fort McIntosh the 20th ult. to go down to the treaty. The surveyors are some of them at this place. We had the pleasure to meet Colonel Sherman here, who has been down the Ohio about forty miles. Captain Hutchins with some of the surveyors began to run the east and west line; but have not proceeded more than three miles,—they apprehend it unsafe at present.—The surveyor general is determined not to proceed till he has the protection of some of the Indian chiefs; for which he has sent a messenger among them, who has not yet returned.—If this measure is unattended with success, he will set off instantly for Congress.

“There is a Delaware warrior detained a prisoner in this fort, who, in a frolic here some months since, killed two men and wounded two more. His trial comes on next week, and it is not doubted but he will be sentenced to suffer death; he is one of the principal warriors of his nation, and occasioned us much mischief in the late war.

“I must just mention the agreeable surprise I met with today. We happened to arrive here the day before a grand horse-racing was to take place, and continue for three days and instead of being in an uninhabited country, I found myself one among a thousand spectators, and principally from the country adjacent.

“Pittsburgh is very pleasantly situated, and consists of upwards of a hundred buildings near the fort. Here are goods in the greatest plenty; but they bear a high price. Provisions are remarkably cheap; flour is at two dollars per cwt. and beef at twenty shillings; venison is sold for a copper per pound.”

The inactivity of the government to aid effectively those sent out by Congress to survey the western country met with severe criticism by settlers, judging from a letter received in New York dated December 1785. The information is as follows:

"I suppose that by this time the gentlemen who was sent out by Congress to survey this country and lay it out into townships have got back to New York and made their report to Congress.

"Little has been done; nor was the prospect of success great. Mr. Hutchins came out too late in the season to make any considerable progress, had he found the Indians no way hostile.

"I think there must be some delegates in Congress who are well acquainted with the nature of the Indians, or of the country they have purchased from them. The supposition that the Indians would consider themselves bound by the contract which they had made with commissioners at Fort McIntosh, was almost groundless. The several tribes of Indians scattered over the territories of the United States, too, are not organized into political bodies in such a manner as to render the same obligatory on the whole tribe to which they belong. It is true, they have among them those they call their chiefs and warriors; but these possess no more the rights of sovereignty over their tribes, than the principal leaders of a mob do over their followers; in either case, while their demagogues conduct their designs agreeable to the wishes of those they lead, they will support their influence; but the moment the crowd, or even an individual, forms a wish to pursue other measures, there is no law or constitution whereby to restrain, or power to punish an infraction;—of this the Wolf lately gave demonstration to the party with Colonel Lewis. The Indians are hardly one removed from a state of nature, politically considered;—there is no such thing among them as natural justice. What security then can Congress expect to derive from their compacts, especially while the British remain their commentators? The history of all the Indian wars, from the time of the first Christian setting foot in North America to the present day, has been one continued series of Indian treachery, perfidy, and falsehood: no treaty has ever bound them, no present has ever bought them to be friendly and just, one day longer than they believed it in their interest to be so: fear alone can restrain their conduct, or reduce them to reason. Why then should Congress raise their hopes on the success of the treaties from which nothing permanent can be expected? Who ever thought of trusting bears and wolves one yard beyond the length of their chain?

"The commissioners now at Miami may treat with, and make presents, to the Indians; and the Indians such as design to attend the treaty, in their turn will promise and make cessions of all the land that is asked to them. This they expect as matter of course when they set out from their castles, otherwise they do not attend at a treaty. But does it follow, or can the most credulous believe, that Mr. Hutchins and his surveyors, in consequence of the treaty, may return into this country next spring, and prosecute their business undisturbed? I think not: unless they are escorted by a military

force, they will again most assuredly be disappointed. The case then seems to be reduced to the alternative, that the United States must either keep up such a force against the savages as will awe them to peace and faith, or abandon their views of selling and surveying the federal lands, on the northwest side of the Ohio river; but what system will be the most eligible to adopt in order to effect this force, and give a tone to our treaties, requires some consideration.

“We have heard in these parts, that the inhabitants settled on the Kaskaskies, in the Illinois country, have made application to Congress, praying that honorable body to give them a system of government: and it is hoped Congress will pay attention to their petition. This will be forming a very good flank of several hundred militia on our left wing, as we advance into the Indian country. The people settled on the Wabash river, at Post Vincent will make a very considerable addition to the militia of Kaskaskies; these, properly seconded by emigrants suffered by Congress to go from the Atlantic States, and settle on a line or range of country from southwest shores of Lake Erie, so as to close upon the head waters of the Wabash, and form a chain of settlements from the waters of St. Lawrence to the Mississippi; this range of settlements again, reinforced by a few hundred soldiers, in actual pay of the United States, properly disposed along the country in stockaded forts, and the whole put under the command of a governor of equal prudence and ability to the importance of his trust, will at once form a barrier, against the savages, and cover all the country to the east, and southeast of this chain, or range of settlements; then, and I fear never till then, will the surveyors be able to perform their business.

“Numbers in these parts are very impatient to become adventurers in some form or other; and they are restrained from bursting into federal lands, by their love and attachment to the United States, who have preëemptorily forbid an intrusion. They stand here as it were on tip-toe to be gone; nor could the whole host of savages, clothed in horror’s form, delay them one month, should Congress give them leave.

“And here much might be said, with regard to the ordinance of Congress, of the 20th of May last; directing the federal lands to be surveyed from Lake Erie to the Ohio River.—Much of the country is rough, and will be extremely difficult to survey: Nor can the surveyors do it for the rewards allowed them; but even that is sinking much of the land, by the expense of surveying in the first instance.—Some of the lands will not sell in a century; yet there is two dollars a mile advance in expense; with interest thereon in a compound ratio, until they do sell. And such lands as are inviting cannot be had, but by such a circumrotation in the business as is exceedingly discouraging. To say nothing of the price you have first to view the lot, or township, and obtain the number and quality, for none will buy land uninformed; then to trace that number out at the board of treasury, perhaps you will have to pursue it to New Hampshire or Georgia, and there wait long before the number you are in pursuit of will be exposed at vendue; and after all it may be bid out of your hands, and

the whole of your designs blasted at a great expense. This perhaps may be all right, but I profess that I do not see the propriety of it. If it be true, that the United States are indebted: that they wish to pay their debts; and that the federal lands are the only property of which they are possessed, without descending to the necessity of asking from, and the possibility of being denied by an individual state, supplies in some other way; and that they wish to sell those lands for the purpose of paying their debts—then it is passing strange to me, that gentlemen, wise as those who form the sovereignty of the United States, should not do as has been done by those who seek a market, in all ages and in all countries—court the buyer, by spreading the tempting wares in his way, and making such terms as are easy and agreeable.”

The treaty became the all absorbing issue of the settlers as the days drew near for the meeting with the Indians at the Miami. After considerable deliberation with the chiefs of the various nations the commissioners achieved the following results, a treaty with the Shawanese and separate agreements with the Indians of the South, especially with the Cherokees, Chicasaws, and Choctaws. The provisions for peace with Shawanoe Nation are as follows:

“Ordered, that the said treaties be entered on the journal of Congress. Articles of a Treaty concluded at the mouth of the Great Miami on the northwestern bank of the Ohio, the thirty-first of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six between the Commissioners Plenipotentiaries of the United States of America, of the one part, and the Chiefs and Warriors of the Shawanoe Nation of the other part.

“Article 1. These hostages shall be immediately delivered to the Commissioners, to remain in the possession of the United States, until all the prisoners, white and black, taken in the late war from among the free citizens of the United States, by the Shawanoe Nation or by any other Indian or Indians residing in their towns, shall be restored.

“Art. 2. The Shawanoe Nation, do acknowledge the United States to be the sole and absolute sovereigns of all the territory ceded to them by a treaty or peace, made between them and the King of Great Britain the fourteenth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

“Art. 3. If any Indian or Indians of the Shawanoe Nation, or any other Indian or Indians residing in their towns, shall commit murder or robbery on, or do any injury to the citizens of the United States, to be punished according to the ordinances of Congress; and in like manner any citizen of the United States who shall do an injury to any Indian of the Shawanoe Nation, or to any other Indian or Indians residing in their towns, and under their protection, shall be punished according to the laws of the United States.

“Art. 4. The Shawanoe Nation having knowledge of the intention of any nation or body of Indians to make war on the citizens of the

United States, or of their counselling together for that purpose, and neglecting to give information thereof to the commanding officer of the nearest post of the United States, shall be considered as parties in such war, and be punished accordingly: and the United States shall in like manner inform the Shawanoes of any injury designed against them.

“Art. 5. The United States do not allot to the Shawanoe Nation, lands within their territory to live and to hunt upon, beginning at the south line of the lands allotted to the Wiandots and Delaware Nations, at the place where the main branch of the great Miami which falls into the Ohio intersects said line—then down the River Miami to the fork of the river, next below the fort which was taken by the French in 1752; then due west to the River de la Panse; then down that river to the River Wabash beyond which lines, none of the citizens of the United States shall settle, nor disturb the Shawanoes in their settlements and possessions and the Shawanoes do relinquish to the United States, all title, or pretense of title they ever had to the lands east, west, and south of the east, west, and south lines before described.

“Art. 7. If any citizen or citizens of the United States shall presume to settle upon the lands allotted to the Shawanoes by the treaty, he or they shall be put out of the protection of the United States.

“In Testimony whereof the Parties hereunto have fixed their hands and seals, the day and year first above mentioned.

“(Signed) G. R. Clarke, Richard Butler, Sam. H. Parsons, Aweecony, Kakawipilathy, Malunthy, Musquauconocah, Meonymsecah, Waupaucowela, Nihipewa, Nihineefficoe.

“Attest: Alexander Campbell, Sec. to Commissioners.

“Witnesses: William Finney, maj. B. B., Thos. Doyle, capt. B. B., Nathan McDowell, ens., John Saffinger, Henry Covy, Cagy Galloway (his X mark), John Boggs and others.”

In spite of these solemn agreements there seemed to be mutual feelings of mistrust. Hardly had the document been signed when crimes and disorders were again reported. A letter from an officer at Fort Harmer, at the mouth of the Muskingum on the Ohio, dated Feb. 8, 1786 states:

“The treaty which is still holding with the Indians at the Miami, is the chief topic among us at present. Till that is over we shall not be able to determine what the general disposition of the Indians will be toward us. It is certain that war has been in contemplation among them, and that they have been exceedingly backward in coming to the treaty. There are two Indians now with us at the Fort who were sent express from the treaty; by them we have letters from General Parsons and the other Commissioners. They mention that appearances were rather more favorable; four tribes of Indians had already come in, and they knew of nothing which would prevent a

favorable issue, unless it should be the fault of some white people whose interest it would be to have an Indian war, and were using their influence to bring on one.

“The Commissioners have given us a caution to be on the lookout; for a party of Indians who call themselves Cherokees, has positively refused to make peace, and had actually gone out to war.

“The Indians have not been in to trade with us as yet; but we impute it to their being so busily employed in hunting,—we soon expect plenty of them in to trade,—there is a trader at this post with plenty of goods, etc.

“Our Fort is very commodious and completely furnished—the gates are all shut at night, and we rest secure. If no hostilities should commence we shall have an agreeable tour in this part of the world. Our living is exceedingly good, and I never enjoyed a better state of health.”

During the month of March Generals Parsons and Butler, two of the Commissioners, reached Carlisle after a tedious and difficult passage of thirty-four days, between the big Miami and Fort Pitt, and six days from thence to this place. Their report was published by the newspapers under date of March 29, 1786.

“We are authorized to inform the public that they have concluded a treaty of peace with Shawanoe nation of Indians, from whom they have received hostages for the delivery of all their prisoners, white and black, which have been taken by that nation during the great war; also they have renewed the treaties concluded 1785 with the Wiandots and Delawares, and settled some matters of great public utility between the United States, and all those nations, respecting the boundaries and the surveying of the lands; of which events one of the Commissioners has proceeded to inform Congress; and that matters wear a pleasing aspect on the frontier, notwithstanding the machinations of a neighboring power, who still endeavors to keep up the jealousy of the Indians against the people of the United States, by personal insinuations, and the assistance of base emissaries in their towns and on our frontier.”

On March 30th the following speech was delivered in the Court-house at Carlisle, in the presence of a number of respectable inhabitants, by a principal Seneca chief who arrived the 28th of March with five other young men of his nation. Captain O’Bail, the Chief, addressed himself thus to General Butler, on that occasion:

“Brother, the Representative of the Thirteen Fires (United States) and all present, I desire you to listen! Yesterday you heard my words—I told you my mind upon some subjects; but I promised to unbosom myself fully to you today. This island was once mine. The ground upon which we now stand, formerly belonged to my people. Harken to my words, brothers, for I am now about to di-

vulge to you the cause of my distress, the cause of the uneasiness which I told you hung heavy upon my mind.

"Brother, I have heard from the British, that you have concluded a treaty with the nations westward;—although I was so informed—yet my mind could not be quieted—I therefore came, among other things to satisfy myself of what has been done between you and those nations.

"Brother, listen! Although I joined the arms of the Great King (alluding to the King of England) and assisted him in his war against you, I have now relinquished all connection with him—I am not afraid of him, or of what he can do to me.

"Brother, if you remember—in the old Councils the Great King told us that the French had relinquished all their claims to this country to him. Perhaps, the writings by which they did that still remain in your possession—those writings—I am desirous of seeing.

"Brother, my people were the old inhabitants of this island. It becomes us both to join our endeavors to prevent injuries from befalling it — to ward off the disturbances which promise, before long, to distress us, our women — and our little ones. As for me, my life is short — 'tis already sold to the Great King (meaning that measures are taken by the British officers to have him destroyed). Let us unite our strength, that we may be strong. Let us live in friendship, that we may be able to prevent all people from doing us an injury.

"Brother, once more hearken to me! I fear I tire your patience;—but as the business upon which we have met is good—listen to me patiently while I declare to you all my sentiments.

"I wish to see what has been done with the other nations to the West—that everything may be clear to us. The Great Spirit above directs us!—And I am sure that whatever is said or done is good and right. But let us, Brother, implore His assistance.—Let us be tied together in friendship.—Encircle us within yourselves—that none may dare to provoke either of us, or to offer insult or injury to either party."

Agreeably to O'Bail's desire the Definitive Treaty of Peace with Great Britain;—that article of Treaty of Alliance with France, which contains a renunciation of all claims to the country, within the limits of the United States, as described, in the Definitive Treaty aforesaid; the Treaty at Fort McIntosh with Wiandots, Delawares, Ottawas and Chippawas; and that at the Miami with the Shawanoe nations was produced. Whereupon General Butler addressed O'Bail in answer to his speech as follows:

"Brother, it is with happiness I hear the sentiments which you have expressed—As to the information which you desired, I shall give it to you with satisfaction, and as full as it may be in my power.

"What you mention of this country having belonged to your people, is unnecessary for us to go into an examination or explanation of; those matters were settled by and between our forefathers in a friendly manner, before we were born—but with respect to the means by which the United States are become the sovereigns and owners of this country, I will now inform you. Twenty and more years ago, the King of England and the King of France went to war about the right to this territory, and after they had fought a long time, a treaty of peace was concluded between these two powers, by which the King of France ceded his right to this country to the King of England—Twelve years ago, when the King of England made war on the Thirteen Fires (United States), the King of France, willing to show friendship to the United States, joined their arms against him, and took them by the hand as brothers, and relinquished to them all the claim he ever had to this country.—The United States having conquered the British King, he ceded to them all the territory which we have described to you in the definitive treaty of peace concluded between Great Britain and the United States, which we read to you at fort Stanwix, which I now hold in my hand, and will again explain to you here, if you desire it.

"When we thus, by the prowess of our arms, became possessed of all these lands, no people within our boundaries had any right; yet the United States commiserated the situation of the Indians; and instead of driving them beyond the Great Lakes from their old place of habitation they offered them place, friendship and protection, and lands for themselves, and their families to live and hunt on.

"In return for this clemency, they only require on the part of the Indians, a strict adherence to their engagements. They have settled boundary lines between the United States, the Wiandots, Delawares, Ottawas and Chippawas, by a treaty at Fort McIntosh, and Shawane Nation by the treaty at the Miami river, which we have lately concluded.—They have proffered the same kindness to all the other nations, whose acceptance, we doubt not, will take place as soon as they will be able to dispel the clouds of delusion which hang over them—and to see their true interest. I promise you that whilst there is honor or faith in the United States, the engagements which have, or hereafter may be entered into with the Indian nations, will be mostly punctually complied with. In testimony of what I have mentioned to you, I here produce to you the papers, which record the transactions which have taken place between the United States, yours, and other nations.

"It shall be our constant endeavor to preserve a friendly intercourse between your nations and the Thirteen Fires, so long as they preserve their faith with us. I approve of your going on to Congress, as I think the measure argues the goodness of your intentions and shows us that you are sincere."

O'Bail again replied:

"Brother I yesterday told you of the trouble which oppressed me—I feel myself as just awakening from a dream—for I begin to

consider the future lot of my little ones and reflect with anger on the deceptions practised on us by the Great King over the water. I assisted him, fought his battles—whilst he sat quietly in his forts—nor did I ever suspect that so great a person—and one *who wore a red coat*—sufficient of itself to tempt people, could be guilty of such palpable injustice—of such glaring falsehood,—My reason for telling you that this island would soon be disturbed is, that I am determined to avenge the injuries which I and my people have sustained from that King. He hath already begun to settle his people on the lands beyond the river, opposite the Niagara. Those buildings nor settlements shall remain. I will go peacefully to him and will desire him to move off—This request I will repeat calmly three times—if he will not then decamp, I am resolved to strike him, and hence will flow those inquietudes which I mentioned.

“Brother, When we have settled all matters fully, my desire is, that Congress appoint seven of you, which I will take by the hand and lead you to our council fire at the Jenessu; there you will discover the truth of what I say to you and that I am sent with authority by my people.

“Brother I now take this string to strengthen your hearts, I repeat my desire that we should join our force together, by which means we shall be able to accomplish all our ends, to drive the Great King quite away. I request you to make all these things known to the Great Council—when I wish to see you as soon as possible, as we cannot do business unless you are present.”

To this General Butler replied:

“That he could not answer to Captain O’Bail’s last requisitions—that the duty of the Commissioners was to make peace etc. with the Indian nations and that the right of making war remained alone in Congress—that he would carefully transmit to Congress all which had been said on the subject.”

“It must give great satisfaction to every lover of peace to find the dispositions of the late hostile part of Six Northern Nations so much changed in favor of the United States since the treaty of Stanwix in October, 1784, and show to the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New York, the propriety and good policy of cultivating the friendship of, and living on a good footing with those nations.”

Apropos of this same interview of Captain O’Bail with General Butler, a gentleman in Bedford writes a letter to a friend on March 27, 1786, as follows:

“Last evening I had the honor to be introduced to Captain O’Bail or Cornplanter the Chief of the Senecas, one of the Six Nations, a young Chief or Captain of their Warriors, and four young men in company with Major Montgomery, on his return from the Treaty, and Mr. Joseph Nicholson, their interpreter. I was delighted with their easy address and natural politeness. A great number of the inhabitants of this place waited upon them, some out of curiosity,

and others to pay their respects to them. I understand they are on their way to Congress at New York, to manifest their pacific dispositions toward the Americans.”

That the meeting of the Indians of the various nations at the Miami failed in its results is borne out by the attacks made by certain hostile elements intent on war or incited to it by some other foreign foe. The following letter addressed to the Governor of Virginia from Lincoln County, Kentucky, April 18, 1786, shows anything but a peaceful settlement of the Indian situations.

“The Indians have been very troublesome this spring and of late have invaded the County of Jefferson, and are almost every day committing depredations there. Our spirited, generous-hearted friend, Col. William Christian, and a Captain Kellar, have lately fallen a sacrifice to their barbarity; and it is to be feared if measures are not speedily pursued for the support and defense of that part, the country will break up and of course the people be greatly distressed. The Indians that invade Jefferson, live on the Wabash, and not more than one hundred and fifty miles from the Ohio, and might be attacked with success. We are not troubled with the Wabash Indians; but by the Chicamagies, a part of whom have lately settled over the Ohio, on a creek called Point Creek; they are said to be about seventy warriors, who have stolen almost all the horses from Limestone and Licking settlements. Those on the Tenasee disturb our eastern and southern frontiers, and about ten days since have killed Col. Donnelson, on his way to Cumberland from this country. Several settlements are evacuated in this country with the loss of different people. There is a compact between the southern and western Indians, and it appears that they intend to cut off this country.

“All the Indians on or about the Wabash are for war; and news is just received, that there are several hundred of them at this time out at war, which is highly probable from the circumstances of their being at this time in almost every part of our western and southern frontiers. They have been frequently on Beargrass; and Col. Christian, in order to induce others to go in pursuit of them, has upon every occasion gone himself: and last week he, with about twenty men crossed the Ohio and overtook three Indians, whom they killed; but his men not rushing upon them altogether as he had ordered, he, with three others only, came up with them. It is remarkable there were only two guns belonging to the Indians, both of which did execution, although one of the Indians was shot through with three balls, and was at the time of firing his gun at Kellar, lying on the ground totally disabled in one arm, and unable to rise up.”

The following three letters were received from Fort Pitt and are dated April, 16, 21, and 25, 1786. They seem to show a war-like disposition among the Senecas, frequently in council with the British who incited these savages to acts of hostility against the United States:

"April 16. I take the opportunity of informing you, of a council we had here—Messrs. Allface and Halftown with their tribe, to the amount of fifty, including woman and children, arrived here, and declared they had something of consequence to communicate. Lieutenant Armstrong sent an express for Captain Zeigler, commander at Fort McIntosh, who arrived, and they immediately held a council, when the Indians told him they had been invited to a treaty at Niagara, and refused to go, as they did not put any trust in the English: and expressed a very great friendship for the Americans, their brothers. However the conclusion was, that they wanted corn, beans, potatoes and hoes to go on with their spring work, and a little rum to make them merry, which Captain Zeigler granted."

"April 21. Since I wrote you, we have received information that during the time Captain Zeigler was holding the council at this place, mentioned in my former letter, Captain Strong commanding at Fort McIntosh, took a walk as far as the foot of the hill, where he descried a party of Indians, who on his approach ran off. He returned to the fort, and observed at a little distance about twenty Indians in arms; they were invited to the fort, but declined coming in. Lieutenant Beatty with a party, went to discover who they were, and returned without effecting his purpose. The next morning a private observed a fellow viewing our situation—what they intend is mysterious; though their arms and reconnoitering behavior condemns them."

"April 25. Captain O'Hara who just arrived from Miami, informs us that the Indians killed some men at a small station near Fort Finney. The men had gone out to hunt their horses; in consequence of which the horses had run off; that they had also killed about fifteen people on Bear-grass, and two men and wounded another on the Eighteen-mile Island; and from the best information he could get, three parties had crossed the Ohio to go to war; and that Capt. Finney is obliged to keep a continual look out, aided by some of the militia. We have heard nothing further from the party that had made their appearance at Fort McIntosh."

A month or so later a letter from Pittsburg, dated May 27, 1786, informs us that Alfaced had again presented himself for an interview at that place. It states:

"Alfaced, a principal Chief of the Seneca nation on his arrival in town, having heard of some depredations committed by the Indians down the river Ohio, on the white inhabitants requested a council with the commanding officer of the garrison, Captain Armstrong which being granted—

"Present, Captain Armstrong, and a number of the gentlemen inhabitants of the town, Lea and Alfaced, chief of the Seneca nation, with a considerable number of Indians of his and others of the Six Nations, Alfaced spoke as follows:

"Brothers, we are all very glad to see you, but are sorry to hear that some blood has been shed down the river; this we cannot help,

'tis none of our faults, but up the water you have nothing to fear, we and all our people hunting about there, where we expect to stay two years, if you will let us remain peaceably and all the skins our young men get we will give to you for such articles as we want, for our brothers have sold you this ground, and we are satisfied and want to live in peace."

"Captain Armstrong replied: 'Brothers, I am very happy to find you peaceably inclined; I am informed that Halftown is gone to Niagara; I would wish to know upon what errand he is gone there, and also, I want you to tell me what the British have said to you since you were here last?'

"Alface said: 'Sir John Johnston last year requested that one chief of the Six Nations would come and meet him at Niagara, where he will be in about three weeks, and he would tell us what had been whispered in his ears; he is going to kindle a large council-fire there, though I don't know what he wants; but I will not go, for I have left my word at Fort Pitt we are ready at any time to receive the corn of you that you promised us, and we wish you would give us some to eat, for we have come a long way and we are very hungry.'

"The Captain said: 'You shall have something to eat and drink this evening, and tomorrow you shall have the corn, when I expect you'll go off to your homes—I advise you to live in peace and be industrious in planting your corn and hunting; don't mind nor believe what the British tell you, they will speak lies to you, and lead you astray; you are now become our people; we are your friends, and we will protect you, and wish to live in friendship,—when Halftown returns, I request you and him to come down, and let me know all the British has said to him; he is one of our people, and I always thought him a very good man; I will also give you a little powder and lead to hunt with.'

"To this Alface replied: 'We all thank you heartily for your kindness to us, brother; we want to know if you have heard anything from our friend the Cornplanter (O'Bail) since he went to your council.'

"Captain Armstrong answered: 'Yes the great council of the United States and him and his people with him, have met and talked together in the greatest friendship; they have made them many fine presents; this is the man that informs us (pointing to Major Finley) who saw the Cornplanter in New York less than three weeks ago; they were all very well then, and must now be on their return home.'

"Alface complained and said: 'Brother here stand two young men who have been hunting up the river, and while they were out, some of your people came to their camp, and stole everything that they had, about one hundred broaches, many skins, some kettles, powder and lead; they are good quiet men, and 'tis very hard upon them, you see they have no clothes; I would be very glad if you could give them something to cover them; we do not want to do mischief, we could steal your horses and rob your people, but we

are not disposed to do such things, for it is not right amongst friends.'

"Captain Armstrong told Alface: 'I am very sorry to hear our people should be so wicked as to steal from you, but there are some bad men amongst us; if you can find any bad men doing such things, don't hurt them, but bring them to me, and they shall be severely punished for it—send these two men to me tomorrow, and I'll give each of them a blanket and a pair of leggings.'

"They returned thanks and the council broke up."

As the result of a letter from Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, complaining bitterly about the Indian invasion of settlements under the jurisdiction of that State, a report was submitted to Congress by a special committee composed of Mr. Grayson, Mr. Dana, and Mr. Monroe.

"It appears to the committee, that the Indian tribes therein referred to, were invited to the treaty which was held at the mouth of the Great Miami by the commissioners of the United States, but failed either to attend thereat, or to take any notice of the message sent them for that purpose: That they have since that time attacked the frontiers of the State of Virginia, and are frequently committing murders and depredations on the inhabitants of the said State; That as the attempt for preserving peace by treaties alone has in this instance been unsuccessful; and it is not likely on any future occasion, with respect to the Indians, to have a more prosperous issue, the committee are of the opinion that the only alternative left is for the United States to send a respectable force into their country, and at the same time authorize the commanding officer of such expedition, either to treat with the said Indians, or make war with, as circumstances may require. That this mode of proceeding will not only give peace to the citizens of Virginia, who are entitled by the confederation to the protection of the United States; but will render the federal authority respectable in those countries, and be the means of preventing other tribes from disturbing the frontiers of the different states of the union: Therefore, Resolved, That the commanding officer, with the two companies of the troops now in the pay of the United States, ordered to the rapids of the Ohio on the 22nd inst. do without delay march into the country of the different tribes of Indians, either on the Wabash or elsewhere who are at war with the citizens of these United States, for the purpose of treating with the said Indians or of making war on them as circumstances may require. That the said commanding officer be authorized to apply to the executive of the State of Virginia for such a number of militia from the district of Kentucky, not exceeding one thousand, and such supplies of provisions as he may, from circumstances judge necessary, and who are hereby requested to furnish the same, deducting the amount thereof from the special proportion of the requisitions of the year 1786.

“That the said commanding officer give peace to the said Indians on no other terms than that of their making satisfaction as far as lies in their power, for any damages already done, and of delivering up a sufficient number of hostages as a security for the time to come.”

A letter from an officer commanding at Fort McIntosh to a gentleman in Philadelphia dated Sept. 13, 1786, says:

“Three men from Sandusky say the Indians are in general desposed for war, and that there are seven hundred warriors collected at the Shawona towns, and more are expected. That they were informed by two white men who had become there, that they had brought in thirteen scalps and four prisoners, two men and a Mrs. Moir and daughter; the two latter they burned before the men, and told them that was to be their lot in a few days. The above persons say that the Indians are determined to strike at Catpain Hutchins, surveyor, and those with him, also at a settlement called Wheeling about one hundred and seventy miles from this: but General Clarke, we hope, is ere this gone into their country with fifteen hundred men, which will cut them out some other work than the butchering our defenceless inhabitants.

“I had almost forgot to tell you that the Indians say they will not disturb the whites, if they will confine themselves within the bounds of Pennsylvania, and on this side of the Ohio and that they do not mean to trouble Col. Porter in cutting the line.”

The Indian massacres increased even after Congress had made provision for new troops on the western frontier. The following information is contained in a letter from Kentucky dated October 8, 1786:

“From the Wilderness we have an account of a most melancholy disaster that happened between Laurel River and Racoon Creek, on the 3rd inst. about twenty five Indians rushed on a camp of travelers, killed sixteen persons on the spot, and wounded several more, who are not yet heard of; took five young women prisoners, and carried away all the horses, cattle and most of the dry goods; fifty men well armed from this district, are in pursuit of the Indians.

“By a young man who remained hid just by, we learn, that they are Chicamogas; he was so near them as to hear them speak distinctly and having been prisoner among them for several years, must be a competent judge.—Will government pass over this cruel act in silence.”

“The settlements at the Lower Blue Lick, on Licking River, are breaking up; great signs of Indians in this quarter; if they are Shawanese, it will give Col. Logan a fair opportunity to demolish them, as they are not apprised of his going against them.

“General Clarke with the troops, arrived safe at Post St. Vincent, was reinforced with fifty Americans and one hundred and fifty

French inhabitants of that place; he took about sixty of the Frankenshaw tribe prisoners, who were at that post; hath detached Co. Legreau with two hundred and fifty men to cut off the Indians at a village adjacent; left a garrison in the town; and hath marched six hundred men toward Wiatown on the Wabash.’’

A week or so later there were further developments as we can learn from a letter from a gentleman in Danville, Kentucky, to his correspondent in Richmond (Oct. 17, 1786).

“The troops under the command of General Clarke returned the fifteenth instant, and I am informed the greatest disorders prevailed among them from the time they marched from Clarkesville; some of the officers were arrested and broke by a court martial, on their march to Post St. Vincent, which occasioned an uneasiness among the soldiers, but was made easy in some measure by the General’s re-instating them again in their former commands; thus they arrived at Post St. Vincents, where they made prisoners forty-two Indians who were with the French and Americans at that place in a friendly manner; they were kept in confinement but a short time before the General set them at liberty, and enlisted three hundred men from the post with him, and appointed officers to command them to keep garrison at Post St. Vincents for one year; this business detained them ten days.—In this time the soldiers began to be very uneasy, and wished to return home; however, the General prevailed with them to march from that place to the principal towns on the Wabash river, with assuring them the business which they came on could be effected in a few days. On the third day’s march towards the towns, about two hundred of the men were very clamorous, and in the afternoon refused to march any further: On the first information the General received of it, he ordered a halt, and in the most pressing manner begged them to march with him three days more; in which time he had reason to believe the Indians would either be received in a hostile manner, or they would make application for peace; no argument the General could make use of had any effect with them. The General thought it most advisable to collect his officers in counsel, when it was agreed upon to return, and they accordingly set off. The General himself staid at Post St. Vincents with the view of holding a treaty with the Indians, provided they were inclined for it.

“Colonel Logan marched from the mouth of Limestone about the 1st instant with eight hundred men (six hundred of whom were on horse back) against the Shawanese towns on the head of the Great Miami; and had it not been for a deserter that got in and informed the Indians of their approach, in all probability the whole army would have been in their towns before they had known anything of their coming. It appears that before the deserter had got in, most of the warriors had gone out in order to meet General Clarke, not knowing of any particular marching against them, so that by the time Colonel Logan appeared in sight, most of the Indians had left

the towns. They made prisoners thirty-two woman and children, and killed seven men, among them was their chief, King Melantha, who gave himself up without any resistance, with his wife and children, and afterwards was murdered by a Colonel M'Gary. They burned ten towns and villages and all their corn, brought off several horses and a quantity of plunder. The squaws and children prisoners arrived on the 21st instant, where I expect they will continue until exchanged."

One can easily see that if the Indian reign of terror was to cease, effectual steps had to be taken by the government to meet the exigencies of these stirring times by forcing the Indians into submission. War along the whole western frontier became inevitable. The new government under Washington had to face the issue. Reverses and defeats were to be the lot of the armies, poorly disciplined, and miserably provisioned during the first years of these bloody engagements. Not until Wayne's decisive victory was achieved were the blanched and frowning faces of the western settlers relaxed. The aggressiveness of the great Indian tribes was forever broken and peace became more and more an accomplished fact as civilization and commerce developed.

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NOTE:—The documents used in this article are taken from letters and other authoritative information appearing in the newspapers of New York, Philadelphia, Boston and their vicinities between the years 1784-1789. The clippings unfortunately have no source notes, indicating newspaper titles where they were originally found. A partial identification of location is, however, sometimes ascertainable by examining the reverse side of the clippings, where advertisements and notices are seen, which give the documents a character. Invariably the time and place elements are recorded, which relieve in a measure the critical mind of the historian in search for the truth. The materials here used were taken from the files of the Seton Papers, forming now part of the Catholic Archives of America at Notre Dame, Indiana. The Seton ancestry on the American side has its origin in the Bayleys, a distinguished stock of early Connecticut settlers. From this family came Elizabeth Ann Bayley, afterwards known as Mother Seton; for she was married to William Magee Seton, descendant of the nobility of Scotland. She afterwards became the foundress of the Sisters of Charity. These contemporary writings, so long in repose, are now republished because they produce interesting facts that may throw a few rays of light on that critical period of our country's history, when our forefathers had just concluded the American Revolution.

THE SULPICIANS IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

After the Diocese of Baltimore had been officially extended to the Mississippi River, the duty of Bishop Carroll to provide priests for the long forsaken Missions and Parishes, Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Prairie Du Rocher and Vincennes, became imperative. He was fortunate to obtain from Paris a number of very excellent members of the Sulpician Congregation, some for his new seminary at Baltimore, others for the western missions. Among the latter were, besides the future Bishops of Bardstown, Flaget and David, the Fathers Michael Levadoux, Jean François Rivet and Gabriel Richard.¹ These priests were assigned as follows: Levadoux to Cahokia, Rivet to Vincennes, Richard to Prairie du Rocher, and the secular priest, Pierre Janin, to Kaskaskia. Only Rivet and Janin had Indian Missions.

The first Sulpician to accept the position of a shepherd of souls² in the old Illinois missionary field, and, for that matter, in the United States, was the saintly Benedict Joseph Flaget. Born December 7, 1763, at Contournat, in the Auvergne, he became a member of the Congregation of St. Sulpice on November, 1783, and pursued his theological studies at Issy, near Paris, under Father Gabriel Richard, as Superior. The revolution, that swept away so many of the monuments of French piety, learning and art, drove the young priest away from home to America, in company of the Sulpician Fathers Chicoisneau and David, and the subdeacon, Stephen Theodor Badin.

The missionaries reached Philadelphia on March 29, 1792. The youthful Flaget was immediately sent as pastor to the old French settlement on the Wabash, Vincennes,³ where he arrived a

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¹ There were two Fathers Richard, Gabriel and Benedict, the one a Sulpician, the other a secular priest; the one serving on the east bank of the river, the other on the west, at St. Charles. Benedict Richard came from France in the ship that brought the first colony of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart to America. Father Gabriel Richard was never the Confessor of the Sacred Heart nuns at St. Charles. Benedict Richard was sent to New Orleans as chaplain to the Ursulines, and under Bishop De Neckere became Vicar General of the diocese. These two distinguished names are sometimes confounded by historians.

² The Congregation of St. Sulpice was intended for Seminary work. Missionary activity was assigned to them at the request of Bishop Carroll.

³ Since the days of the early Jesuits the Church of Vincennes has maintained

few days before Christmas. What he saw and experienced there among the Indians who had returned to an almost savage life, and the Creoles who had inter-married with the Indians and had adopted many of their ways and manners, was enough to discourage any ordinary man. The church of Father Gibault, a log building, still remained, but in a dilapidated condition; the altar was a primitive construction of a few boards, rudely put together. Yet, the poverty and bareness of his surroundings did not dishearten Father Flaget, though it touched him deeply, reminding him of Bethlehem and its manger. What hurt him much more was the coldness and indifference of his people, of whom only twelve could be moved to approach Holy Communion during the Christmas festivities. Seeing that the way of converting the old was through the plastic hearts of their children, he established a school, in which he taught the rudiments of learning and the principles and practices of religion. A goodly number of the parishioners, Indian and French Creoles, were won over to the almost forgotten Christian practices. But no less did he endeavor to improve the social condition of these poor neglected and persecuted people. He had looms made, and taught the women the art of weaving; he encouraged agriculture and sought to instil habits of industry in the half-savage hunters and trappers.

During Father Flaget's stay at Vincennes, the smallpox visited the people of the town, and the Indians in the neighboring villages, and continued its ravages, though intermittently, for a whole year. With full knowledge of the dangers he incurred, he waited on the afflicted, administered the sacraments and buried the dead. Many among the Miamis and other Indians received Baptism on their death-bed.

With such a lonely life in the wilderness, with no priestly companion within reach, and deprived of all the comforts of cultured society the young missionary bore the "burdens of the day and the heats thereof" most manfully. When he fell sick in October, 1793, his

intimate relations with the French Catholics along the Mississippi. Father Mermet, th Jesuit from Kaskaskia, was its first priest. Then came the heroic Father Senat, the martyr of duty in the Chicasaw war, and a little later the Jesuits Vivier and Meurin, all members of the Illinois Mission. Father Gibault was the pastor, until his appointment to New Madrid on the Spanish side. On Bishop Du Bourg's assumption of the charge of the Illinois Mission, Vincennes was thrown in for good measure, and two of his best priests, Anthony Blanc and Andrew Ferrari, were sent there to revive the faith. The town on the Wabash was named for the Sieur John Baptist Vincennes whom the Chicasaws burned to death with his friend and companion Father Senat in 1736.

vigorous constitution and his never-failing confidence in God soon restored him. But he was destined for higher things, and at the call of his Superiors, he left Vincennes for Baltimore at the end of April, 1795.

The disastrous war with the savages at last brought the United States government, not so much to a realization of its duty towards the poor children of forest and prairie, but rather to a clearer estimate of the advantages to be gained by bringing them under religious influences.

President Washington recommended to Congress the adoption of a more helpful treatment of the Indians. Bishop Carroll at once offered the services of Father Rivet, and the offer was accepted. A commission was issued to him as "Missionary to the Indians," with an annual allowance of \$200.00. Father Rivet immediately set out for the Mission of St. Francis Xavier near Vincennes, and arrived there June 12, 1795.⁴

Father Pierre Janin received a similar commission, and came to Kaskaskia in October of the same year. Both found, what Father Rivet had expected from the start, "only trouble, privation and the duty of making every kind of sacrifice." Through the disastrous war the Indians had become savages once more, with the vices of the whites added to their old ones. The French Catholics were apathetic, and the government officials neglected to pay the yearly allowances. Father Janin soon resigned his commission as "Missionary to the Indians" and Pastor of Kaskaskia, to go to St. Louis on the Spanish side. Father Gabriel Richard attended the place from Prairie du Rocher. Fever attacked the new-comers to the American Bottoms. "So far I have had only three attacks of the fever," wrote Father Levadoux from Cahokia, "but they have left me so weak, that I can scarcely keep from falling at every step." "Father Rivet at Vincennes has been more fortunate in this respect. But his Indians were all in winter quarters, and will not be back for a few months." "One great drawback, is that I am still without means, having no interpreter of my own, not knowing the language, having no opportunity to learn it, and being scarcely able to vegetate with the meagre salary given me by the United States. We have not even received a cent of the first quarter of that salary, now that the fourth quarter is due." "The Governor tells us that we have been forgotten."⁵

"Rev. John Rivet," by Camillus P. Maes in *Ecclesiastical Review*, vol. V, July and August.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

Discouraging as the care of the Indians was, the experiences Father Rivet had with the French were still more heartrending: "Notwithstanding all my care, in a village composed of one hundred and four Catholic families, which number about three hundred, or three hundred and fifty communicants, I had only eighty-eight persons who presented themselves at the tribunal of Penance and forty two at the Holy Table, although my indulgence has been almost excessive."⁶ The good Father begs his Bishop to send his people a pastoral letter, especially in regard to "the necessity of sending the children to Catechism, and not to leave them, until the age of thirteen or fourteen, in almost absolute ignorance of all their duties of religion, to take them out of the hands of the priests, as soon as they have made their First Communion."⁷ Another common vice, the Father most bitterly condemns, is "the uncontrollable passion for nocturnal dances." The population of our villages is made up of people from all over the world,"⁸ adds Father Rivet as one of the causes of this almost universal demoralization.

Father Rivet, however, regarded himself as primarily a missionary appointed for the savages, and as such he had very noteworthy success. As to Father Rivet's zeal for the salvation of his poor Indian children, Bishop Carroll bears ample testimony: "Father Rivet visits the neighboring Indians and applies himself incessantly in fulfilling the object of his appointment, and disposing them to maintain a friendly temper towards the United States. He is indefatigable in instructing them in the principles of Christianity, and not without success, which however, would be much greater if the traders could be restrained from spoiling the fruits of his labors by the introduction and sale of spirituous liquors. In the discharge of his useful occupations, M. Rivet has undergone much distress. The Indians afford nothing for his subsistence; on the contrary, he is often obliged to share the little he possesses with them."⁹

"God rewarded his zeal," says Father Rivet's biographer, "with abundant spiritual fruit. The Vincennes Registers of Baptisms and Marriages record the wonderful results of his apostolic labors among the Pottowatomies. The other roaming tribes of the plains of the Wabash were not overlooked: Miamis, Shawnees, Charaguis, Pian-

⁶ Ibidem, p. 44.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 45.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 47. Among Father Rivet's many other accomplishments we may mention his skill in writing Latin verse. He often exchanged poetic elucubrations with Father Stephen Badin.

⁹ Letter to Samuel Dexter, Secretary of War, Sept. 15, 1800.

keshaws, Ouias, 'Sioux and Kaskaskies, all contributed their share to the harvest of souls."¹⁰ The infidel writer, Volney, on his tour through the West, visited Father Rivet at Vincennes and expressed himself as "well-pleased with the personality of the learned, well-bred and very kind gentleman." He has special praise for Father Rivet's "self-sacrificing efforts for the education of his flock."

On October 14, 1802, Father Rivet alludes to the changes that were going on beyond the Mississippi: "Governor Harrison has given me a hint, that the Government may need my services in Louisiana, whence most of the priests leave, to go within the lines of the domain of the Spanish King (Florida), who offers to continue their pension to all who locate there. . . . During my last journey I went to St. Louis, and everybody expressed a desire to have me there. It is probable that the two shores of the Mississippi will form one and the same government with the region where I reside, and in that case, Governor Harrison will be strongly importuned by the people of the other shore, to send me there. Alas, if they knew what I am, they would not go to so much trouble."¹¹

But Father Rivet's health was breaking fast, and his end was, no doubt, accelerated by extraordinary austerities, as "Sleeping on rough boards covered with a worn-out cloak." Shortly after New Year's Day of 1804 he felt that death was nigh. He sent word to his nearest neighbor, Father Donatien Olivier, at Prairie du Rocher, to come and administer to him the last rites of the Church. Anticipating his coming he wrote out his confession. But Father Olivier was far away, and the dying man sealed his written confession and addressed it to his brother priest. Father Olivier arrived at Vincennes three days after Father Rivet's death. "He died as he had lived, extremely poor and extremely regretted by his parishioners," wrote Father Gabriel Richard, the companion of former days.¹²

Father Michael Levadoux was one of the companions of Father Nagot on the journey to Baltimore in 1791. A year or so after his arrival he and Father Gabriel Richard were sent by Bishop Carroll to the French settlements along the Mississippi. Father Flaget on his way to Vincennes met them at the Falls of the Ohio, now, Louisville. Father Levadoux took up his abode at Cahokia, whilst Richard went to Prairie du Rocher. After the recall of

¹⁰ "Rev. John Rivet," by C. P. Maes, p. 50. We preserve Father Rivet's spelling of these Indian names.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 111.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 121.

Father Flaget, Father Rivet was sent to Vincennes, and a secular priest, Pierre Janin, to Kaskaskia. Father Levadoux was appointed Vicar General of the district. The Sulpician, John Dilhet, in his Memoir "On the church in the diocese of the United States," says: "M. Levadoux went There (Cahokia), by order of his superiors, the Bishop of Baltimore and M. Nagot, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Baltimore. He built a splendid church there, in the vicinity, I do not know where. M. Oliver succeeded him."¹³ This testimony of a brother in religion is sufficiently perplexing. Yet it contains a grain of certain truth; the fact that the church at Cahokia was built, at least in part, by Vicar General Levadoux. As Father Dilhet resided at Detroit with Fathers Levadoux and Richard, he must have had his information from the best sources. What Father Dilhet probably meant, was that Father Levadoux had been sent to the district of Cahokia, and that he built a church there, at a point unknown to the writer. When Father Levadoux was changed from Cahokia to Detroit in 1796, to be succeeded, after an interval of a few years, by Father John Olivier, Father Gabriel Richard attended to the wants of the people of Cahokia, and also to the construction of the church begun by Father Levadoux. Certain it is that the edifice was blessed in 1799 by Vicar General Rivet, Pastor of Vincennes, who also said the first mass within its walls. This building, still in good condition, though no longer used for church purposes, is the noblest memorial of the Sulpician Fathers in the Mississippi Valley.

The first Church of the Holy Family at Cahokia built by Father St. Cosme at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was probably consumed by fire in 1735. Soon after this disaster the Seminary of Quebec sent Father Nicholas Laurens with 25,000 livres for the purpose of restoring what had been lost or damaged. At this time, no doubt, the second church was erected, which served the parish until that fateful day in November 1762, when Father Forget Du Verger, the last of the Seminary priests, sold all of the mission property, and returned to France. The people of Cahokia were now deprived of everything pertaining to divine worship, except a bell, a monstrance, a chalice and paten and a missal printed in 1668. A house had to be rented in the village where visiting priests might say mass. Father Paul de Saint Pierre, the Carmelite representative

¹³ Jean Dilhet "Etat De L'Eglise Catholique ou Diocese Des Etats-Unis De L'Amerique Septentrionale," Washington, D. C., 1922. Translated and annotated by the Rev. Patrick William Browne, S. T. D.

of the strenuous life, came to Cahokia in 1786. The people were delighted with their pastor, and built for him a parsonage at a cost of 5,000 livres and started a movement to replace the church, that had meanwhile fallen to pieces. In 1789, however, Father de Saint Pierre left Cahokia for Ste. Genevieve, and the building project lapsed for a time.¹⁴ The "splendid church" must have been begun and almost brought to completion by Father Levadoux, as Father Richard also departed for Detroit in May 1797. Building operations were slow and expensive in those days. The finishing touches were applied under Father Donatien Oliver's regime, so that the building could be dedicated to divine service by the last of the Sulpicians in the Illinois country, Father John Rivet of Vincennes.

This would reconcile the apparent discrepancy in the statements, that the church of Cahokia was built in 1789 and in 1799. The first date marks the inception of the work, the second, however, its completion and dedication. Father Paul de Saint Pierre, the Carmelite, gave the first impulse. Father Levadoux set the work in motion, and Father Richard brought it to completion, whilst Father Rivet blessed the splendid structure under the rectorship of Father John Olivier. As a pleasant conclusion to this tedious account of early building operations, we would subjoin the clear and accurate description of the Old Church at Cahokia published some years ago by one of its former pastors, the Rev. Robert Hynes.

"This church is built upon a stone foundation, 31 x 74 feet. The walls are hewn walnut logs placed upright six inches apart and leaning in from the perpendicular about eight inches. The sides of the logs facing each other are beveled to a depth of two inches to receive and hold the mixture of stone and mortar with which the interstices are filled. The logs are securely mortised into heavy timbers below and above, and braced at each angle of the building. Not a nail was used in the entire structure, but huge wooden pegs were employed where needed. The roof timbers are oak, squared to the dimensions of 4 x 4 inches and originally were covered with cypress clapboards. Wide sycamore boards cover the floor which slopes gently from the front wall to the altar rail with a fall of six inches. Originally the church had no sacristy, but this need was supplied in 1833 in the form of a small chapel projecting from the north wall. In the same year a corresponding chapel was built out from the south wall to accommodate the organ and choir. Later, in

¹⁴On Father Paul de Saint Pierre, cf., *THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. V, p. 195, s. s.

1840, a larger sacristy was added to the rear of the building, and a confessional was placed in the north chapel. The church as it came from the hands of the builders 119 years ago is substantially intact today. Additions have been made, indeed, but practically nothing of the original building has been removed."¹⁵

And now we come to consider the most remarkable man of all the Sulpicians that served the church in the Illinois country, Father Gabriel Richard. 'Tis true, this truly great and many-sided man spent only six years of a long and eventful career in the Illinois Missions. Coming to Baltimore from his college in France in 1792, he was immediately sent to Kaskaskia, which post he held until May 1795, when Father Pierre Janin, the Missionary to the savages, took charge. After Janin's early departure for a new field, Father Gabriel returned to Kaskaskia, officiating there until the advent of Father Donatien Olivier in 1799. In Kaskaskia he lived among the ruins of former grandeur. Many of the houses were without roof and doors. The better part of the Creoles had migrated to St. Louis. Fort Chartres lay deserted, and its mighty ramparts were falling piece by piece into the Mississippi. St. Anne's Church of New Chartres was no more. The Illinois Indians, that had formed the two flourishing missions of Kaskaskia, were reduced to a pitiful remnant.¹⁶ All was desolation and despair. Yet Father Richard labored and prayed, knowing that the result was in the hands of God. The Parishes of Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher remained in his care from 1793 to 1798. On August 1st, 1797 he inscribed his name in the Baptismal Record of Ste. Genevieve as "Cure de Prairie du Rocher." In September 1798, however, he became Vicar General and Parish priest of St. Anne's, Detroit, in succession to Father Levadoux, who was recalled to Baltimore.

Father Gabriel Richard was a many-sided genius. Priest, professor, founder of a university, editor, publisher of the first Bible printed in the Northwest, French and English scholar with a good knowledge of Spanish, German, Italian and the Algonquin languages, promoter of trade, and introducer of wool-carding and spinning in the Northwest, and the only member of Congress, that was, at the same time, a priest in good standing. Of course, the missionary in the Illinois country did not have the opportunity of showing all the

¹⁵ ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. I, p. 459.

¹⁶ In consequence of the murder of the great Chief Pontiac by an Illinois Indian at Cahokia, the greater part of the Illinois tribes were exterminated. There was nothing left of the Tamarois Mission at this time, and very little of that of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia.

facets of his personality: the wider field of Detroit was necessary for their development. Yet, he was always the man to recognize an opportunity when it presented itself, and to realize it in a thorough manner. He had his sorrows, too, and disappointments, and even persecutions to bear; yet he met them all like a man and hero. Father Gabriel Richard is, as Dr. Guilday justly says, "the greatest name in the missionary annals of the Sulpicians." Lanman's Directory of the United States Congress says of him: "He was a Roman Catholic priest and a man of learning. . . . During his pastorate of St. Ann's Church in Detroit it became his duty, according to the Roman Catholic religion, to excommunicate one of his parishioners, who had been divorced from his wife. For this he was prosecuted for defamation of character, which resulted in a verdict being given against him for one thousand dollars. This money the priest could not pay, and as his parishioners were poor French settlers they could not pay it for him, and he was thrown into prison. While confined in the common jail, with little hope of ever being liberated, he was elected a delegate to Congress, and went from his prison cell in the wilds of Michigan, to his seat on the floor of Congress."

The testimony contained in the Journal of Bishop Plessis of Quebec, 1816, mingles generous praise with a little quiet sarcasm: "This ecclesiastic (M. Gabriel Richard) is moreover, thoroughly estimable on account of his regularity, of the variety of his knowledge, and especially of an activity, of which it is difficult to form an idea. He has the talent of doing, almost simultaneously, ten entirely different things. Provided with newspapers (gazettes) well informed on all political questions, ever ready to argue on religion, when the occasion presents itself, and thoroughly learned in theology, he reaps his hay, gathers the fruit of his garden, manages a fishery fronting his lot, teaches mathematics to one young man, reading to another, devotes time to mental prayer, establishes a printing press, confesses all his people, imports carding and spinning wheels and looms, to teach the women of his parish how to work, leaves not a single act of his parochial register unwritten, invents an electric machine, goes on sick calls at a very great distance, writes letters to and receives others from all parts, preaches on every Sunday and holy-day both lengthily and learnedly, enriches his library, spends whole nights without sleep, walks for whole days, loves to converse, receives company, teaches catechism to his young parishioners, supports a girls' school, under the management of a few female teachers of his own choosing, whom he directs like a religious community whilst he gives lessons in plain-song to young boys assembled in a school he has

founded, leads a most frugal life, and is in good health, as fresh and able at the age of fifty, as one usually is at thirty. Such is the abridged portrait of this more than ordinary man; extremely appreciated by the Bishop of Quebec and his traveling companions, but having against him the great majority of his parishioners; entirely set against him and several of whom, in their self-conceit and folly, would prefer remaining without a priest to having that one."¹⁷

Certainly we Catholics of the Mississippi Valley have every reason to hold in reverence and love one of our precious heirlooms, the memory of Father Gabriel Richard, and his Sulpician associates, in Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher and Vincennes.

From 1793 to 1798 the names of Rivet, Levadoux and Richard occur in the church records of each of the four parishes, as if they had regarded them as one religious establishment, each member of the community, however, residing in his own proper station. As a beautiful trait of the earnest and lovable character of these Sulpician missionaries, we would instance their daily spiritual reunion at the altar. When entering on their widely dispersed missions they had arranged among themselves that, day by day, they would devote the selfsame hour to prayer and meditation in common, just as if they were assembled in their faraway community chapel. Separated in body, yet united in spirit, they would approach the throne of God as faithful in all things, giving thus a fine illustration of the scriptural saying: *O quam bonum et quam jucundum est fratres habitare in unum.*"

After Father Rivet's death, Feb. 1804, there were no more Sulpicians in the Illinois Missions, until Bishop Flaget of Bardstown began to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over half of the Illinois country, soon to introduce his brother Sulpician, Louis William Valentine Du Bourg, to the other half, west of the river, as their Bishop, and immediately to relinquish to his dear friend the care, if not the possession, of his own half forever.¹⁸

¹⁷ After the burning of Detroit, Father Richard was greatly instrumental in the work of rebuilding the city. St. Anne's Church was removed to a more favorable locality. The troubles with the people of St. Anne's culminated in an interdict by Bishop Flaget.

¹⁸ At the coming of Bishop Du Bourg to St. Louis, Bishop Flaget requested that the far western part of his diocese, Illinois and a part of Indiana, be provided for from St. Louis, and his request was granted. This private arrangement was made permanent, at least in regard to western Illinois, by Roman decree in 1834, to remain a part of St. Louis diocese until the erection of the diocese of Chicago in 1843.

The secular priests that were chosen to fill the parishes in succession to the Sulpicians, were the brothers Olivier, John and Donatien, natives of Nantes, France. They arrived in the Illinois country in February 1799, John going to Cahokia and Donatien to Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher. When Father Francis Savine journeyed from Canada down the Ohio in company with Bishop Flaget in May, 1811, he was told to go to Cahokia, as Father John Olivier had retired to New Orleans to become the chaplain of the Ursulines. From 1817 to 1827 Father Donatien is resident pastor of Prairie du Rocher, attending Kaskaskia once or twice a month. This noble priest's character is beautifully sketched by Bishop Spalding in his *Life of Bishop Flaget*.

"The Rev. Donatien Olivier was one among the most pious, zealous and efficient priests who ever labored in the missions of the Mississippi Valley. He was universally esteemed and beloved. By the French Catholics he was revered as a saint. His name is still held in benediction among them. He was for many years Vicar General of the Bishop of Baltimore, for all the missions extending over the present states of Indiana and Illinois. He usually resided, it appears, at Prairie du Rocher; but he visited Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Vincennes and the other Catholic settlements. He was admirable for his child-like simplicity and unaffected piety, which traits he continued to exhibit in the midst of his apostolic labors, till old age compelled him to abandon the field and seek solace and prepare for death in retirement. He died on the 29th of January, 1841, at the Seminary of the Barrens, in Missouri, at the advanced age of ninety-five years."¹⁹

Father Francis Louis Savine, who served as pastor of Cahokia from 1812 to 1817 and incidentally attended the forsaken church of St. Louis so regularly during those years, that he was considered by many as its pastor, acted in Cahokia under the ordinary, and in St. Louis, under the delegated powers of Bishop Benedict Flaget of Bardstown, Kentucky.

¹⁹ "Sketches of the Life, Times and Character of the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, First Bishop of Louisville, by M. J. Spalding, D.D., 1852. Governor Reynolds, who had personal knowledge of Father Olivier, said of him in his "My Own Times": "One of the ancient pioneer clergymen was the celebrated Mr. Olivier of Prairie du Rocher, Randolph County. This reverend divine was a high dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church for more than half a century. He acquired a great reputation for his sanctity and holiness, and some believed him to be possessed of the power to perform small miracles, to which he made no pretensions."

One of the chroniclers of St. Louis, Judge Wilson Primm, who seems to have caught the inspiration from Bishop Rosati's historical interest, gives us a slight pen-picture of Father Francis Savine, the friend of his early days: "Priest Savine was the last of the Canadian Mission sent to this region of country by the Bishop of Quebec. There are many now living who remember "le pere Savine" with perfect distinctness. He was a man of fine presence, of amiable disposition, zealous in the performance of his duties, and especially kind to the poor and those in distress. There was no tearless eye in his congregation when he bade them adieu. The old Creoles of today still hold him in pleasant remembrance."

The good Sulpician missionaries had not labored in vain. There was a distinct revival of religion and culture in the old French villages along the borders of the Mississippi. We get a glimpse of the new life rising from the old in many a passing remark of friends and foes. A very readable article by Margaret A. Babb, on "The Mansion House of Cahokia and Its Builder, Nicholas Jarrot,"²⁰ gathers up a number of them in regard to Cahokia and weaves them together into a pleasant tapestry. The center of the picture is the Mansion House built by Nicholas Jarrot, the great trader and one-time owner of Monks' Mound. A few extracts from her article in as far as it touches upon the religious life of the village, will show why the memory of a Paul de Saint Pierre, of a Flaget, Levadoux, Richard, Rivet, and of an Olivier and Savine, is still in benediction.

Cahokia had at the close of the eighteenth century declined from its zenith of prosperity and renown: yet it contained a large and distinguished population predominantly Catholic. Among the conspicuous men of French descent was Nicholas Jarrot, who settled in Cahokia in 1794, and through his second marriage with Julia Beauvais of Ste. Genevieve, became affiliated with the aristocratic French of the Valley. "The year 1798," says the writer of the "Mansion House of Cahokia," "found the young couple in Cahokia, living in a wooden house across the street from the church of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions of Quebec." This church of the Seminary priests had, of course, no longer a visible existence, but the site was now occupied by the church of the Sulpicians. M. Jarrot decided to build a brick house, the first one in Cahokia and the second in all the Mississippi Valley. The site chosen was just east of the church. Even as the church was the institution about which the lives of the

²⁰ Published in Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1924.

Frenchmen revolved—so the house standing beside it became the center of hospitality for the region.

Living under the shadow of the church—the oldest in Illinois that is still in existence—Major Jarrot's life was as exemplary in church duties and devotion as that of the priest. He and Mme. Jarrot always preceded the family procession in going to and from mass on the Sabbath.

“The Trappist Community under the leadership of Abbot Urban Guillet, and the Father Prior Joseph Mary Dunand, found a strong supporter in Nicholas Jarrot. He offered them four hundred acres of ground for their monastery. This grant was in the center of the mound region of Illinois and contained the largest one of the group, which even now bears the name of Monks' Mound. The Trappists lived four years on this perhaps greatest earth-work made by the hands of man, performing the vows of their order—silence, hard labor and teaching. In 1813 the community returned to France. . . .

“Although Major Jarrot accumulated a great fortune by trade and prudent investments his generosity and devotion led him to give freely, where he hoped it would be beneficial. Devotion to religion, as well as devotion to his children and children's children caused him to establish the first school in Cahokia.” With him, as with most of the Catholic French and Creoles of that day, religion did not mean a soured spirit nor a saddened heart. The joy of life still had an attraction for them, and they showed their good sense in countering the manifold ills of existence with a light heart. Not that they did not go too far at times; not that they were all perfect specimens of Christian men and women. Yet, under the circumstances of frontier life, it was good for them to be cheerful, and it may be called a wonder, that they did not sink completely under the burdens of oppression and contempt.

“The amusements of Cahokia in the early days of the nineteenth century were much the same as those of the other French settlements. The church had a large share in the social life of the community as well as in the spiritual. . . . There were several excuses for balls—Sunday evening, feast days, and the carnival time were quite the correct occasions for dancing. The return of the fur traders was a time for joy and dancing. If a stranger had been in a town for two or three weeks, he of course had enjoyed the hospitality of the villagers' homes and they expected in return—another ball. These balls cost one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars, and a young man wrote home that he could scarcely afford such expenditure.

"The gala season of the year began at Christmas and continued through the carnival season into Lent. One of the pretty customs of the Christmas Mass was the choosing of young maidens of the congregation to take up the collection. Felicite Jarrot was doing this one year when the alarm of fire was given. The old Cahokia church was threatened but not destroyed. During the holidays young men, dressed as beggars, danced into the homes of those who were thus invited to attend the ball to dance away the old year. . . . On New Years Day it was customary to kiss when you met an acquaintance. Barriers were temporarily torn down, slaves kissed their masters and their mistresses, signifying general good will.

"About the sixth of January—'le Jour de Rois'—a large party was given, and a huge cake containing four beans was baked and served only to the gentlemen. Those who received the beans were the kings of the carnival and it was their duty to give the first ball of the season. They each chose a queen and the royal couples opened the ball. The queens in turn chose kings, who chose queens—and the hosts and hostesses of the next ball were assured. So the merriment continued. The usual refreshments at such affairs were cake and coffee or bouillon.

"Love of pleasure was not the only characteristic of the Frenchmen. They settled in villages, which shows their sociable natures. There they raised their beloved families. Generation after generation lived amicably together due to their innate politeness. The whitewashed houses amid many flowers, all enclosed by picket fences, made a picturesque background for the quaint costumes, topped by the blue handkerchiefs which they always wore about their heads.

"The gentry composed of the bourgeoisie and the nobility were not unlike the same class in Virginia. They still retained the love of their mother country, which, in this case, was la belle France, and in many instances clung to her customs and language."

"The French in many ways were lenient masters. . . . Their wives spun linsey for the negroes' clothes, and they were taught the Catechism. One day the Jarrot family heard the cook's baby crying down in the basement. Ortance (the eldest daughter) went to investigate and found that the cook had run away and abandoned the child. Ortance named him Louis and took charge of the boy. So kind was his supervision, that when the slave became old enough to obtain his freedom, he did not want to go. Later, on the wedding night of Maria Brackett, daughter of Ortance, in 1841, Louis took a vacation from his job on a Mississippi steamboat, came back to Cahokia and cooked the wedding breakfast. After performing this

act of devotion, he returned to his work, and that very night the steamboat blew up."²¹

It seems appropriate here to give a summary account of the visit which Bishop Flaget, the saintly Sulpician and friend of Levadoux, Richard, Rivet, the Oliviers, and Savine, in 1814, paid to the parishes and missions over which they once held spiritual sway. Though his jurisdiction did not extend beyond the Mississippi River he gladly accepted the invitation of Dr. Du Bourg, the administrator of Louisiana, to visit the parishes and missions on the Missouri side as well. On May 25 he started on horseback for Vincennes and reached it on the third day, tired, but happy at seeing his old flock, headed by Father Olivier. On May 30 he visited the grave of Father Rivet and sang the "Libera" over it. Devoting several days to the preparation of the Confirmandi he administered the sacrament to eighty-six persons. He preached in English as well as in French to the great satisfaction of the Americans. On June the 14th, he and Father Olivier set out for the Mississippi. They were escorted by a company of French Rangers. On the 18th they arrived at Cahokia, where they found Father Savine, "holding the handle of a skillet to make an omelet." The bishop found everything in good order. He confirmed one hundred and eighteen persons. The good people of Cahokia conducted their bishop to the banks of the Mississippi, which he crossed in a canoe, with no companion but the oarsman. No public reception awaited him. At the confirmation services on July 4th he was attended by Father Savine and the Father Prior, Joseph Marie Dunand. The ladies of the city presented the prelate with a fine cross and mitre. On the 8th of July he departed for Florissant, where the entire population turned out to receive him; on the 11th he crossed the Missouri River, sitting in an armchair placed in a canoe, decorated with flowers. On the other side he visited Dardenne, where he confirmed one hundred persons, one of whom was 103 and another 115 years old. He arrived at St. Charles on the 18th, and on the 21st went to Portage de Sioux, confirming fifty-four persons. Then he returned to St. Charles and found a parish that had been at war with its pastor, Father Dunand, for two years: his earnest words brought peace and joy to all. He confirmed sixty-five persons, and on August 3 retraced his steps to St. Louis.

"This congregation is in a state of extreme indifference," he wrote, "yet some young people presented themselves for confession and revalidation of their marriages. Seventy-two persons were con-

²¹ "The Mansion House at Cahokia," *passim*.

firmed. Governor William Clark, the former associate of Meriwether Lewis in the discovery of the Columbia River, asked the bishop to baptize three of his children. On August 14th the bishop crossed the river to Illinois, where a large escort of horsemen and carriages received him and formed a procession to Cahokia. On the 2nd he departed for Prairie du Rocher to confirm a class of sixty-five. Though suffering from a fever, the prelate visited Kaskaskia on the 14th of September, where he set down the following words of praise: "The church is superb for the country; its length is eighty feet, its width forty feet. The evening was spent in blessing the good people." He confirmed one hundred and ten persons. On the 21st he went to Ste. Genevieve, where he was received with the usual honors. He preached strongly against balls, "to the great astonishment of dancers," and administered confirmation to three hundred and sixty-one persons. On October 5 he visited the Barrens, an American Catholic settlement, attended by Father Dunand from Florissant, and there confirmed forty-five persons. On his return to Ste. Genevieve he preached to the negroes, of whom there were about five hundred in the town and vicinity. Finding that marriage was not common among these poor slaves, he threatened their masters with excommunication, unless they afforded their servants every facility of lawful marriage. On the 27th of October he rejoined Father Olivier at Prairie du Rocher, spending a few days of charming solitude after so much distraction. November 3d he returned to Kaskaskia, whence he took his departure for home by way of Vincennes. He was escorted by sixteen Creoles on horseback. The party reached Vincennes on the 12th of November. From the fulness of his great heart, the bishop wrote to his brother in France: "I have just returned from a mission where I had remained for seven months. It is situated among the French living along the banks of the impetuous Mississippi and the muddy Missouri. I was greatly surprised to find more than ten thousand Catholics, attended by two priests only, one of whom is seventy years old; the other, on account of his constitution, unable to travel on horseback. I cannot describe to you the pleasure it gave to these old-time French people to see me and to listen to me. Many irregularities may be found among them, it is true, but their faith is still strong. What sincere feeling they testified, and how many conversions were wrought! Although I could visit but half of the population, and only confirmed those who had made their first communion, I had the consolation of confirming

²² Spalding's "Life of Bishop Benedict Flaget," p.p. 129-142, *passim*.

more than twelve hundred. An episcopal throne was made for me out of beaver skins, decorated with jewels lent by the women."

The next time Bishop Flaget came to visit St. Louis, he brought the newly appointed Bishop Louis William Valentine Du Bourg, a Sulpician like himself, under whose self-sacrificing devotion the Church was destined to take firm root in the soil of the west and grow into a mighty tree of perennial vitality and grandeur.

(REV.) JOHN ROTHENSTEINER.

St. Louis

THE FIRST MARTYRS OF NORTH AMERICA

Save for the kindly interest shown now and then by a few interested students and friends, the story of the first martyrs of North America has lain hidden away in the dusty volumes of the Relations for nearly three hundred years. 'Tis true that Bancroft, Parkman, Thwaites and Finley, all non-Catholic writers, have drawn across the printed pages of history magnificent word pictures of the lives and labors and sufferings of those heroic men. If that story could so move the hearts of these writers, then there must be much of interest for Catholic readers and students in the tale.

In the order of their deaths, these martyrs are Rene Goupil, Isaac Jogues, John Lalande, Anthony Daniel, Jean De Brebeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Charles Garnier and Noel Chabanel. Of these, Goupil and Lalande were laymen; the remaining six were Jesuit priests.

It was the wish of Goupil's heart that he might join the Jesuits, and in fact he did enter upon the life of the novitiate in France, but failing health obliged that he give up his high ideal of life. Later, with returning health, he took up the study of surgery and became very proficient indeed in that profession.

With the exception of Father Brebeuf, all of the martyrs were born, lived, labored and died in the first half of the seventeenth century. Father Brebeuf was born in 1593 and was the only one of the group to pass the age of fifty before he died.

These years of the first half of the seventeenth century, from 1600 to 1650, compose an era of great men and of great men's deeds and accomplishments. Ferdinand II of Germany was bringing to a successful conclusion the struggle of the counter-reformation, sustaining during his reign fully one-half of the burden of the Thirty Years War. He was ably assisted by Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, who, in his state, was consolidating the religious spirit of his people into such a solid mass that it would remain intact throughout the years that would follow down to our own day, not suffering any diminution of fervor even though it came in contact with the strife and struggle and the turmoil of a World War.

Henry IV of France had, for twenty years, preserved peace for his Nation, permitting its inhabitants to labor in behalf of its agricultural, commercial and industrial interests. Thus he paved the

way for the coming of Louis XIII, during whose reign and with the able assistance of such master statesmen as Colbert and Richelieu, genius was at its height in France.

In England, Shakespeare was writing *Hamlet*; Ben Johnson and Lord Bacon were making their invaluable contributions to the hardy stock of English literature; the blind poet, Milton, was singing to the world of that day and to succeeding generations the majestic strains of "*Paradise Lost*." In Spain, Calderon, writer of many plays, was producing those three wonderful religious plays, *The Firm Prince*, *The Wonder-working Magician* and *The Devotion to the Cross*. For these his theme was conversion from paganism to Christianity—Penance—and the virtue of Perseverance in a Christian life. The immortal Cervantes was writing his equally immortal *Don Quixote*. In France Corneille was producing *The Cid*, a great tragedy that for two hundred years would exert its influence upon the European stage. Moliere was just entering upon his remarkable stage career. Richelieu, in 1635, by royal charter, had founded the French Academy that from his day down to ours was to remain the unchallenged authority in matters touching the standards of Literature, Sciences and the Fine Arts. To be numbered amongst the favored forty who comprise its restricted membership, is an honor earnestly sought for. Only the truly great in these respective lines of human endeavor may ever hope to attain that prize.

Literature had masters in Italy—in Germany—in Poland and in Austria.

The sciences which we are assiduously cultivating in our day were being cradled in those eventful years. It was the age of Gallileo and the telescope—of Torricello and the barometer—of Gascoigne and the micrometer. Malpighi had invented the microscope, that wonderful little instrument which was to play such an important part in the fields of chemistry and medicine. Huygens had glimpsed those magic bands that form the beauteous circle round the planet Saturn; Kepler had reached an uncanny finger into the celestial hemisphere and had withdrawn from its hitherto secretive folds the three great laws that govern the movements of the planets round the sun. Mersenne had discovered and was formulating the laws of vibration; Gilbert had discovered and was writing out the laws of magnetism. Harvey had traced and was giving to the world its first authentic knowledge of the circulation of the blood in the human body and Sydenham was pressing his investigations further into the realm of the peculiarities of epidemic diseases.

Spinoza, Descartes, Paschal and Locke were propounding the principles of their respective philosophies which were destined to exert such profound influence upon the thought of coming multitudes.

Education was held in high honor in France. In 1540, St. Ignatius had welded his followers into the Society of Jesus, intending that membership therein should never exceed sixty in number. In the sixty years that followed they established in France twenty colleges—by 1650 the number of colleges had grown to seventy—an increase of an average of one college for each of the intervening fifty years. Though its sainted founder had intended that its membership should never at any one time exceed sixty in number, nevertheless, in 1615, within seventy-five years after its foundation the membership in the Society numbered thirteen thousand one hundred twelve. Its missionary zeal had sent its members—some to the land of the Rising Sun, Japan,—others to China and Cochin-China and Ceylon—others still to Armenia and Persia. They went down the eastern coast of Africa to the southmost point of that unlettered continent. They went up the long, winding, tropically verdant shores of the Congo to the natives of the interior; on across tempestuous seas to Uruguay, to Quito—down to Peru and Argentine, into the West Indies, into Mexico, up to Quebec, out into the snow-banked wilds of Canada.

Not only were these colleges producing missionaries for these far off lands; they were giving to the world such men as Richelieu, Descartes, Mersenne, Moliere, Bossuet, Montesquieu and a host of others whose lives and deeds were to live in history.

Men of saintly character rubbed elbows with the world. St. Francis De Sales was writing those great spiritual works which are read in our day for their classic, literary worth as well as for the solidity of their contents. St. Vincent De Paul was organizing the public charities of France upon a scale theretofore undreamed of in the world. The venerable Bellarmine was enunciating the principles of that genuine democracy which we citizens of America hold forth to the peoples of the earth as the one true, ideallic form of human government. And, too, there was St. Francis Regis, St. John Berchmans and St. Eude.

De Sales had brought the cloister closer to the world through his Visitandines; De Paul had founded the Daughters of Charity now honored by us under the name of the Sisters of Charity and St. Eude had given to the world that great order of women whose mercy has been unlimited, whose charity has been as boundless as the limitless

heavens—the Order of the Good Shepherd. The Ursuline nuns were conducting in France alone three hundred twenty schools for girls.

The Fine Arts were keeping pace with the strides of Literature, Scholarship and the Sciences. There was Velasquez in Spain, who, tiring of retracing the works of previous masters, was enrolling his name amongst those of the great painters of his age through the medium of two splendid works—The Forge of Vulcan and Christ On the Cross. Rembrandt, a Flemish painter, had just completed “St. Paul in Prison;” Rubens, another Flemish painter, enserolled his name among the masters through the “Fall of the Rebel Angels.”

And there was Murillo, another Spanish painter, who, not satisfied with some 400 artistic pictures, any one of which might well have served to enshrine within the memory of men for ages, the name of any painter, with an admirable boldness conceived the idea of tracing upon his canvas one of the sweetest attributes of the Blessed Virgin. From the immeasurable depths of Heaven’s blue he drew the color he would use to portray her purity; he robbed the rainbow of its daintiest shades and tones. From the lustrous firmament of the brightest evening he took the silvered stars that he would need. With a confidence born of the true sincerity of his purpose it seems as though he must have gently pried ajar the gates of Heaven to gain, at least, one fleeting glimpse of the beautiful face of the Virgin Mother. He strolled amongst the resplendent rays of a thousand setting suns and garnered from their dissolving mists the gold with which to mould the halo he would place upon her brow. And—then—as an unknown admirer of his art has said, he borrowed from the angels of Heaven the pencils he would use to trace upon the canvas his justly famous masterpiece—“The Immaculate Conception.” On one of the walls of the Louvre, in Paris, it has hung, and is hanging in this day, a sweet reminder to the passerby, who stopping to admire, is caught in the toils of its entrancing beauty, that he, too,

“Though lacking in genius and unskilled in art,
May paint that blessed likeness in a contrite heart.”

Equally high had risen the standard of the sculptor’s art. All over the broad face of Europe, his chisel was drawing from the cold, chaste granite the images of the sainted heroes who in other days had led the Church, which when placed within the walls of churches and cathedrals, might serve to increase the fervor of the faithful and furnish and adorn in courtly fashion these homes of God on earth.

This was the culture that prevailed in France. It was an exquisite culture into whose atmosphere the first martyrs of North America

were born. Some of them came into the world enshrouded with the homely comfort of the peasant's cottage on the hills where love of the Faith and fervor of devotion served to soften the blows of worldly strife and dispel the care and lighten the burden of the poor man's life. Others knew and had experienced the ease and luxury of more palatial homes where Literature and Science and the Arts had entrance to help the religiously inclined the better to see and understand the true purpose of life. All were Frenchmen and were raised in France. They sought their education in the selfsame schools where masters of their Age had before been trained. They learned the principles of an enduring literature; they traveled in the fields of advanced science; they climbed to the plane of a broad—broad scholarship; they drank in the influence of a refining Art. They taught the classics; they taught the sciences; they led other young men along the paths of knowledge. Had they pursued their course as they had started out, it seems promised that history would have crowned their careers with an approving smile.

But no—they thought nothing of the world's approval. From faraway Japan came the news that Blessed Charles Spinola had won the martyr's crown in "the great martyrdom" of 1622. They knew that Melchior and Stephen had let flow their blood for the Faith in Poland. Yes, there was ringing in their ears from just across the channel in "old merrie England" the tortured cries of no less than ten members of their Order who had suffered the excruciating pains of being racked, drawn, quartered and hanged because they would not betray their brethren—because they would not deny the Faith.

These friends of ours had no time to listen to the false promises of the world. They listened only to the tales that Cartier, Champlain, Biard and Masse had told of a race of people fallen from the high estate of man into the abysmal depths of savagery and barbarism. They raised their voices in more fervent prayer to God—they made incessant clamor in the ears of their superiors—begging that they might be amongst the next to undertake this great work of God amongst the heathen in the unknown wilds of Canada.

In 1607, the year in which Goupil and Jogues were born (and by the way all of these first martyrs of North America, with the exception of Brebeuf, were born between 1607 and 1613), the English had planted their first colony at Jamestown, in Virginia. In 1609 Hudson was in New York Bay. In 1614 the Dutch had settled on Manhattan, later pushing their way up the beautiful Hudson river to a point near the present site of Albany where they erected Fort Orange of which we shall later speak. By 1634 settlements had been made

along the coast in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

The Algonquin Indians lived in the territory north of the St. Lawrence river. The Hurons had their homes on the eastern shore of Lake Huron just south of what we now know as Georgian Bay. The Neuter Indians claimed the land along the north shore of Lake Erie. In between the Neuters and the Hurons, the Petuns or Tobacco Indians lived. The Iroquois resided in what is now the State of New York, having their villages scattered along between where Schenectady now stands and Lake Erie. It will be remembered that whenever Fenimore Cooper wishes to introduce the qualities of treachery, deceit or hypocrisy where the Indian is involved, he invariably chooses the Huron; whenever he treats of the Iroquois it is to depict its people as savage, warlike, and as fiendishly and inhumanly cruel.

Father Brebeuf was the first of our group of martyrs to come to the Canadian missions. He arrived in 1625, and, after lingering around Quebec a while, during which time he studied well where first he should begin amongst the Indians, made up his mind that he could work to the best of advantage in the Huron country. It lay to the west some 600 miles, but, traveling by canoe, as they had to do in those days, carrying their canoes and luggage by hand around the many rapids, carrying canoes and luggage and all over the long portages between the streams, following the winding currents of the rivers and the equally winding trails upon the land, it meant to them a long, tedious and arduous journey of near 900 miles each way. Arrived at the point where he would conduct his labors, he was standing but at the threshold of the hardships he must endure before he might even speak their simplest words. His experience in this regard must have been the same as those that Father Le Jeune, another Jesuit missionary, who nearly 10 years later was to take up a like task among the Algonquins. Le Jeune tells how when first arrived among the Algonquins, he had to lend them aid in the building of a cabin that would shelter all from the piercing blasts of their northern winter. He relates how they dug down through four or five feet of snow and cleared a small patch of ground and then inside that wall of snow on a few poles they had raised, were stretched pieces of bark that had been sewed together leaving at the top a hole through which the smoke of the fire that they kept burning on the ground at the center of the cabin might escape. The occupants of these cabins slept upon the ground. He tells how nights without number he has shared his sleeping place with the dogs of the tribe, glad sometimes

that they were there because the heat of their bodies somewhat made up for the lack of blankets to keep him warm. No doubt many nights, as he looked out through the holes in the bark covering of the cabin, he could not help but realize the contrast between the primitiveness of this savage abode and the comfort of the home he had left in France. But for these missionaries the chill of their bodies only added to the warmth of the zeal in their souls. These men all had been accustomed to the best that the culinary art of France could produce. Food was not at all plentiful in these Indian camps and even when it was to be had, the filthy way in which it was prepared drove these missionaries again to their dried-out mooseskins and eel-hides and to the bark and roots of trees in order that they might stave off starvation.

They went with the tribes on their hunting trips and to the fishing grounds; they went with them to where they played their games and to where they traded so that now and then they might pick up some word of the Indian language that hitherto they had not heard. As rapidly as these new words were encountered they were engrossed upon a little slip of paper so that later they might include the new-found word in the dictionary of Indian words that was being slowly compiled. All the while the missionaries had to be extremely careful that all paper was kept out of sight of the Indians because these savages frequently claimed that paper was but the handmaid of sorcery and they seemed to fear that it would inevitably work evil among their people.

Brebeuf found the Hurons as Cooper has so often described them. And too, he found that their lives were morally vicious. They were given to sorcery and to the missionaries they imputed sorcery. Not only did Brebeuf fail at first to make converts among them, but they regarded him and everything he had with him with suspicion. There came upon them an epidemic of disease that wasted many of their tribe and a drouth threatened their crops. He knew that there was much murmuring against him. He had not long to wait. The captains of the tribe assembled in council and shortly afterward sent for him. They said to him: "My brother, we see that on your cabin you have a cross that is painted red and that red cross, in the opinion of this council, has caused our sickness and would destroy our crop. You should take it down." He tried to explain a little but he made no impression. Then he boldly said: "If that cross that is painted red has caused you trouble then why do you paint red upon your cabin doors—why red upon your clothes—why red upon your faces?" They were confounded. And then he offered, if they thought best,

that they might paint it white but they must not take it down. They agreed to this and the color of the cross was changed to white. One, two, three, four days came and went but there came no rain. The Hurons gathered again in council and Brebeuf addressed them. He told them that the change of color had done no good. No matter what the color of the cross it could make no difference. And then he asked them to come with him and pray. Upon the cross he fastened a corpus of the Saviour and gathering his savages about him he led them as best they could follow in devotion to the cross and to the Christ for whom he would win them. The next day rain came to break the long drouth from which this tribe had suffered. The cross upon Brebeuf's cabin was again dressed in its original coat of red. Brebeuf had opened the doors of their savage hearts a little way. He was about to make triumphal entry in the name of his Lord and Master. But this was not to be. His work amongst his Hurons was interrupted at this time when the English seized New France driving out the French and taking possession themselves. Brebeuf was forced, with others of the French, to leave and in 1629 returned to France. There he spent his time arousing the interest of the people of France in the mission fields where he had been laboring. By 1632 the difficulties arising over the English seizure of New France were adjusted between England and France and New France was restored to the French. Brebeuf immediately made his way back to Quebec and shortly afterward was again among his Hurons taking up the work of christianization where he had left it off.

Early in February, 1636, Isaac Jogues was ordained to the holy priesthood. On April 8th, following, his many prayers answered, he, in company with other Jesuit priests, among them Charles Garnier, left Dieppe, France, arriving at Chaleurs Bay on June 2nd and moving up to Quebec on the second day of July. The latter part of August he started on his journey to the Huron country. Arriving there he began his work with Brebeuf, remaining until 1642. During the time he was on this mission he found an opportunity to engage in some few trips of exploration. One of these trips took him up around Lake Huron to the Sault at the northern end of the present state of Michigan. There he could stand and, gazing out upon the apparently never ending reaches of the plains, meeting many other tribes of Indians theretofore unknown to him, contemplate the vastness of the task that lay before the missionaries.

In the spring of 1642 Father Raymbault had fallen ill and it was necessary that he should be returned to Quebec. Father Jogues was asked by the superior, then in charge, if he would accompany Father

Raymbault back to Quebec. The great humility that was such a great part of his character here shows itself for he says in writing of the event that he made up his mind he should say yes. He knew the dangers of the journey. He knew that the fierce Iroquois lingered almost continually along these trails back to Quebec watching for an opportunity to take captive some of the Hurons. And so he thought that he must say yes, for did he not, then someone of greater ability than he, would be selected, and if lost, the missions must suffer greater loss than if he should be taken captive. Accordingly, the fore part of June, the little company took up the trail toward the east. No hostile Indians were encountered on the trip down. At Quebec they tended to their trading and Father Jogues secured supplies of religious articles of which the Huron mission was in very bad need.

August 1st, they started on their return trip to the Huron villages. Here for the first time Rene Goupil enters the picture. He was one of the band returning with Father Jogues, going to the Huron missions to render to the mission fathers such assistance as he might be able. The next day they came into the ambush laid by an overwhelming group of Iroquois. The Iroquois attacked them with guns that they had previously secured in trade with the Dutch at Fort Orange. In a trice the company was scattered and such as did not effect their escape in the first moments of the onslaught were made prisoners. Jogues and Goupil were among that number.

An Indian convert named Eustache succeeded in escaping but having stopped to ascertain who else might likewise have escaped, found that Jogues was not among them. Immediately he retraced his steps toward the place of the attack and made his surrender. Taken into the group of captives, he espied Jogues and going up to him, he said: "I praise God that he has granted me what I so much desired—to live and die with thee." In a moment more a Frenchman, who by the fleetness of his foot had outstripped his pursuers, and like Eustache, finding that Jogues had not escaped, made his way back to where the captives were and submitted himself into captivity. This Frenchman was William Cousture, a layman, who among others, Father Jogues tells us, "without any worldly interest serve God and aid us in our ministrations among the Hurons." In the fight he had slain one of the most prominent of the Iroquois and for this he must be promptly made to suffer. The Iroquois stripped him naked and tore out his finger nails with their teeth. They bit and chewed his fingers and ran a javelin through his hand. He suffered patiently and as he afterward told Jogues, he remembered the nails of the Saviour as these Indians pierced his hands. Then they fell upon

Jogues beating him with their fists and knotty sticks. They tore off his finger nails and chewed his fingers between their teeth causing him incredible pain. They did the same to Goupil and having for the time being satisfied themselves gathered their prisoners together and started on the long journey to their villages in New York. Eight days further on they met a band of 200 warriors who were going to make an attack upon a newly built fort that the French had erected at Richelieu. Again the captives were required to run the gauntlet between the lines of these new warriors and were severely beaten, their hair and beards torn out, their bodies bruised and the flesh laid open. Nearly dead from this second trial the Indians compelled them to resume their journey. Their clothes had been torn from them and the hot August sun was burning and blistering their lacerated bodies. Jogues tells us that before they reached the Iroquois village that their sores had become infected and so putrid that worms were dropping from them. They arrived at the principal village of the Iroquois located where the little village of Auriesville, New York, now stands, a distance of about forty miles west of Albany.

Immediately upon their arrival, they were marched onto a stage constructed in the middle of the camp and put to further torture. On the way up to the stage they were met by the young men of the village who with relentless fury beat them again with sticks and stones and iron bars. These iron bars, like the guns the Indians had, had been secured in trade from the Dutch at Fort Orange. Father Jogues tells of one Indian who had a lump of iron the size of a man's fist fastened to a rope and with this he struck them on the head and in the face until Father Jogues says of Goupil: "there was nothing of the face visible except the whites of his eyes 'all the more beautiful, since more like that one, as it were a leper and as one struck by God, in whom there is neither beauty nor comeliness.' " On the stage their fingers were cut off, Goupil losing a thumb when one of those fiends in human form severed that member from his left hand with a broken edged clam-shell. Father Jogues here lost his left thumb. The two remaining finger nails that were left to him were torn off and the flesh that lay beneath was scraped off by the Indians with their sharp nails even to the bone. Jogues tells us of the many nights that intervened as they traveled through their tortures enduring new ones at each village they were taken to. Their open wounds were constantly irritated by flies and insects which because of their mutilated hands they could not brush away. So their torments continued until they had been taken through all the villages. At last they had returned to the principal village. They

were given into the custody of certain families and then the Indians held council to determine what next should be done. Father Jogues and Goupil withdrew from the village and going into the woods nearby began their rosary. They were commencing the fourth decade when two young Indians came up and summoned them to the village. As they reached its gate one of these Indians struck Goupil to the ground with a blow of his tomahawk which he had hitherto kept concealed and a moment later removed the life entirely from the prostrate body with two more blows of the savage tomahawk. Goupil could not speak the Indian tongue therefore could not talk to the Indian children. All that he could do, and this he did, was to make the sign of the cross upon the foreheads of some of the children of the family of the Indian who had killed him. The savages placed a rope about his neck and dragged his naked body back and forth over the rough and stony streets of their village, later dumping the body down by the bank of the little stream that flowed past the village.

Father Jogues remained captive among this tribe in the custody of a member of the Wolf clan for some thirteen or fourteen months when his escape was effected by the Dutch at Fort Orange. He was taken down the Hudson to New Amsterdam where the Dutch governor and one of the Dutch ministers provided his every need and paid him every honor thus making recompense for the harm that had been done when these same Dutch had previously warned the Iroquois not to give any heed or shelter to the Jesuits. They arranged for his passage back to France. He reached the French coast on Christmas eve. Perhaps we cannot appreciate the torturing grief of this good man when on Christmas morn, because of his torn and mutilated hands, he could not, at the altar, offer his God in honor of the Son just born. The privilege of saying Mass was quickly restored to him by Pope Urban VIII, that Pontiff saying: "It would be unjust that a martyr for Christ should not drink the Blood of Christ."

Early in 1644 he again took boat for the Canadas and when he arrived at Quebec he found the French and Iroquois conducting negotiations for peace between them. These negotiations lasted through a great length of time but ended favorably to peace. There was not included in this council any representatives from the village where Jogues had first been taken in his captivity. It was extremely necessary that this village be made a party to the treaty and so Jogues and another Frenchman were delegated to go down to this village and secure the agreement of this village to the compact. Early in

May, 1646, they were on their way and after a couple of weeks' parley with the chieftains secured their consent.

Jogues realized that, while the Iroquois would make peace with the French, they would not talk of peace at all with the Hurons. The Hurons in these years, since Brebeuf had come among them, saw that if that advantage was to be preserved there must be much of missionary work done amongst the Iroquois. Accordingly, when leaving the Indian village after having won consent to a treaty of peace with the French, he left behind him a small box of religious articles that he would have use for when he returned. Jogues and his companion made their way back to Quebec and there he made arrangements to return again to the Iroquois this time as an ambassador for Christ and not on any worldly mission. About the 1st of October he started back with John Lalande for a companion. The Indians heard of his coming. In the time that he was gone an epidemic of disease had befallen the Iroquois and their crops were lost. These reversals the Indians blamed upon the black-robe, attributing the misfortunes to the spell of a devil in the box that Jogues had left in their midst. When he was about three days' distance from their village he was seized—this time by members of the Bear clan. There was intercession made for him by the other clans and finally it was agreed that the clans should be summoned to hold council in the matter. The members of all the clans returned to their villages to prepare for the council. The Bear clan took advantage of the lapse of time. Immediately a feast was prepared by them ostensibly in the honor of Jogues, but in reality it was his feast of death. He was invited and in the evening as he approached the cabin where the festivities were to be held, he was tomahawked by a member of the clan. He died on the 18th of October, 1646. John Lalande met death in the same way the following day.

Martyrdom was having its day on this new continent. By December, 1649, all of the eight had met their deaths and all at the hands of the Iroquois.

What of the effects of this martyrdom?

What good could possibly come of their labors and their deaths?

Scarcely had the news of Goupil's death reached the homeland until another noble young surgeon forsook the bright promise of a profitable career in the practice of his chosen profession and hastened to fill the post left vacant by Goupil.

Jogues never dreamed—he could not possibly have known—that up through the grasses that had been reddened with his blood there

would a frail tender plant arise later to bloom into the "Lily of the Mohawks" whose cause for beatification is now in process.

Out over the path to the Sault, made sacred by his footfall, came Menard and Allouez and the heroic missionary of the midwest, Marquette. All carried aloft the cross of Christ and breathed forth to these untutored sons of the plain and forest the story of the Infant in the crib who later died for them.

Across the wide stretches of Canada's western plains went the brave McLoughlin—noted layman and servant of a trading company. Despite the exactions of a busy life in the world—despite the responsibilities of business that rested so heavily upon him—he found plenty of time to teach the children in the forest the truths of Christ and Sunday after Sunday to gather them into the company of the men and women of his post for instruction in the Faith and to join with them in prayer that some day they might know the joy of having a priest of God amongst them. He will be remembered in the pages of history as the Father of Oregon.

And strange, strange tale—but it is true. One hundred fifty years afterward, in the upper Rockies, a tribe of Indians were induced, through the influence of a group of descendants of the savage Iroquois, to make the long, weary journey down the winding trail from their villages to the trading post at St. Louis in search of the services of a priest for their people. In this they did not realize their wish and were forced to return to their homes unsuccessful. Again the Iroquois prevailed upon them to make the trip and again the trip was fruitless. The last and successful trip was made by the Iroquois, themselves, and after praying, begging and entreating they at last gained one to come among them. There were not nearly enough priests to serve the country even that country adjacent to St. Louis. But the indomitable De Smet, one of those black-robos that once upon a time the Iroquois had so hated and detested that they would shed their blood, was assigned to the territory where he might labor amongst the truly repentant. In the Canadian missions, where before their martyrdom only six laymen worked there were later twenty-six. Where eighteen priests had labored in those days of death for the Faith, three hundred and twenty would take up the work. Ah, what an inspiration—their tortures and their deaths.

From our storm-swept eastern coast to the gently sloping sands where the limpid Pacific kisses our western shore—from the cold, bleak, ice-bound northland to the summer sun of the southland—on the mountains—in the valleys—on the hilltops—on the plains—in the cities and the hamlets—there are chapels and churches and cathedrals.

Some raise their humble towers, others their stately spires—each one ever—ever—ever pointing out the paths these martyrs trod. In their shadows dwell the convents and the monasteries and our schools and colleges, in our day a field of fragrant roses blooming where these martyrs sowed the seed.

They might not have visioned in those days before their deaths the picture of the Church, as its development in this land is known to us. But this they did know—and they talked it over many times in their councils—that ere the Faith of Christ should take root in this new soil, that soil must first be dampened by the blood of martyrs. The success of Holy Church in her Divine mission in our land was their one true heart's desire and they were willing and ready, and each one constantly prayed to God that he might be enrolled among the favored ones, to die in order that we might have what we now enjoy. And so, if we would come to offer any tribute to their memory that is at all worthy of the name we must have within us no inclination whatsoever to ever hinder, hamper or impede the working of God's Holy Will in our midst.

And this further thought comes to mind with an urge that demands expression. We might, with profit to ourselves, and with much of glory to their names, beg of them that they intercede for us that it may be made known to us how we, as individuals, may best assist our schools and colleges and universities to rise to and maintain that high standard of excellence that will enable them, in another day, to give to the world other Richelieus, Descartes, Cornielles, Molières, Mersennes, Montesquieus—other De Sales, De Pauls and Bellarmine—yes—and, if the need shall ever arise, that there will be within their walls other Goupils and Jogues and Lalandes praying and with incessant clamor begging, for the privilege of taking their places in the line of duty.

To render such assistance might be considered as offering something like just compensation to these martyrs for the suffering they endured. It would at least have something of such merit as does not attach to mere idle words of praise. It would be such tribute as we need not be ashamed to offer and that they would be glad to accept as proving that the lessons they labored and suffered to impress had not been forgotten—as proving that they had not died in vain.

JOHN J. RYAN.

Monmouth, Ill.

Address delivered at Parochial School Hall, Columbus Day, October 12th, 1925.

HONORING MARQUETTE, JOLIET, LASALLE AND TONTI

On Saturday, December 5, 1925, two tablets were unveiled on the Michigan Boulevard (Link) bridge, Chicago.

At the north end and east side of the bridge a bronze tablet, in memory of Pere Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet, "the first white men to pass through the Chicago River," September, 1673, was unveiled.

At the south end on the west side of the bridge the tablet in honor of LaSalle and Tonti was unveiled, their first passage through the Chicago River being in December, 1681.

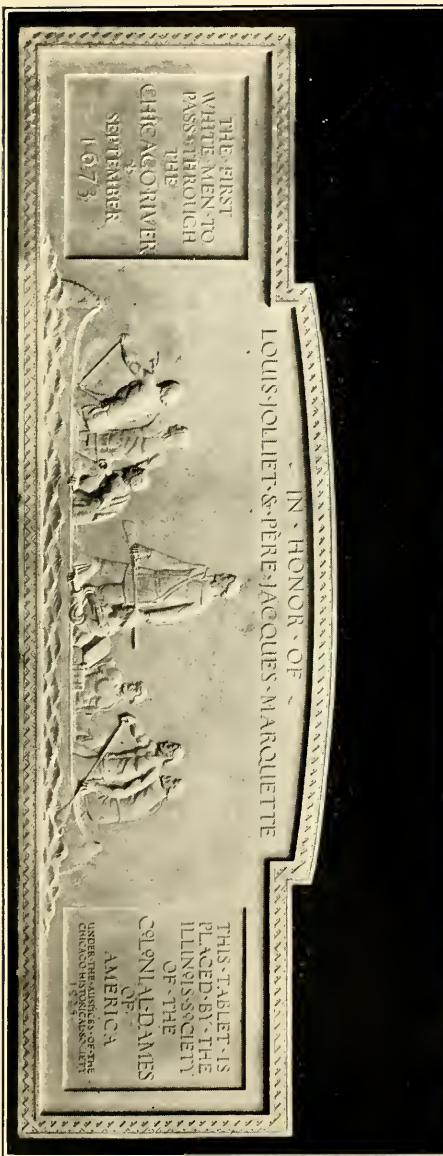
The tablets were erected by the Colonial Dames and the unveiling was under auspices of the Chicago Historical Society, which did much of the research work.

Mr. George W. Dixon and Professor A. C. McLaughlin made addresses.

ADDRESS OF GEORGE W. DIXON

This day will be a red letter day in the annals of this Society for it marks the culmination of a task undertaken three score and nine years ago at the time the Society was founded (1865), namely, to establish beyond dispute the fact that the Chicago River was explored by white men in 1673 and that a French Colony was established in Illinois in 1681.

To that end this Society has devoted such funds as could be spared from its modest income, but its most important contribution is that of original documents in the French language, and the personal research of its members. Chief among these was a former president of this Society, Mr. Edward Gay Mason, who devoted years of his busy life to research in archives abroad, as well as in this country, to establish the fact that white men passed through the Chicago River as early as the Seventeenth Century. Where Mr. Mason laid down this work in 1898, which only ended with his life, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt took it up and has carried it on to the present time, being instrumental in adding to the manuscripts collected by Mr. Mason (LaSalle's letter written from Chicago in 1683, the first Illinois deed, 1693, etc., etc.); other early French documents of inestimable value, among them LaSalle's patent by which he was given permission to explore the Mississippi Valley under the patronage of



Bronze Tablets Placed on Michigan Boulevard Bridge, Chicago, by the

Louis XIV, and various documents written by the noble Tonti, the man with the iron hand.

Research has now been taken up by two men of the younger generation and, within the last year, the exact limits of the Chicago portage used by the explorers have been determined. These will be marked by this Society in the coming Spring.

Two years ago, a special committee of the Colonial Dames visited the Historical Society and announced the laudable purpose of furnishing the funds to erect bronze tablets on the Michigan Avenue bridge, to call the attention of the world to the fact that Chicago had Colonial history. When they were furnished with the data establishing the authenticity of this fact, this Society very graciously proposed that the tablets bear the name of the Chicago Historical Society, as the sponsor for the historical facts involved.

There was additional reason for this because the Historical Society is assured of existence in perpetuity and, therefore, can always maintain a place for safeguarding records.

It is the hope of our officers that there will be many occasions for cooperation with the Illinois Society of the Colonial Dames, in the years to come.

ADDRESS OF PROFESSOR A. C. McLAUGHLIN

The tablets unveiled today are dedicated to the memory of four men who were engaged in the exploration of this western wilderness. The story of their adventures takes its place among the most thrilling tales of history. The courage they displayed, their willingness to endure discomfort, misery and danger, were unsurpassed, perhaps unequaled, by any others in the long list of men who opened up the continent. Impressed, as one must be, by the toil of the last hundred years, by the energy, the engineering skill, the faith, and the business sagacity, which have gone into the building of this mighty city, we cannot well drop from our memories the achievements and the trials of the early explorers. Every schoolboy and schoolgirl needs not only to know something of LaSalle and Tonti and Marquette and Joliet,—they are only the outstanding figures among the early explorers—but also to hold in grateful remembrance the countless numbers of men and women who, in the past centuries, toiled and struggled and suffered in laying the foundations of the vast material civilization that we see about us. In what way,—we sometimes ask ourselves,—in what way can the men and women of this generation, and especially the young people, who in another decade or two will be the ruling forces

in the commonwealth and the republic—in what way can they be impressed with a sense of civic responsibility? How can they be brought to realize the value of what they have and enjoy, their duty to preserve the best and to build up a higher and better public and social life on the strongest of foundations? Well, one way surely is to induce them to keep in mind the work of the past. The value of anything can be appreciated fully only by those who know its cost in human toil. Nothing is more objectionable in young or old than flippant ingratitude. A self-centered person, or a self-centered and self-satisfied community, is not an edifying sight. A proper and dignified respect for the past, the maker of the present,—the past with all its blunders and the past with all its suffering and effort—is the best antidote for superficiality and an ungrateful attitude, for the carefree irresponsibility, so unattractive in the individual, so dangerous in the commonwealth.

For a century or so before the Seven Years' War in 1763, France was engaged in founding an empire in America. When I say "engaged" the word is probably ill chosen, because during those years her strength and her chief attention were directed to many other tasks, and no very great proportion of her wealth and effort were given to the extension of power on this side of the Atlantic. The reign of the Grand Monarch, Louis XIV, was a reign of splendor and of war; during his time and that of his successor, the struggle for territory and dominion in Europe occupied the thought of the ruler and prepared the way for the ultimate humiliation of France. But during the reign of the great Louis, explorations and settlements in America were partly encouraged, partly, at times, held in check by the king and his ministers; and the claim was laid to the vast middle region of the continent, stretching away to the western mountains and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Lakes and beyond. The foundation of these claims was laid largely by voluntary exploration and discovery, little aided, if aided at all, by the state; for at times, the French authorities were anxious to develop the colony on the St. Lawrence and looked with disfavor on the wandering fur-trader and irresponsible adventurer.

The forces making for the extension of France in the Mississippi Valley were trade and religion—the work of exploration was the work of the fur trader and the missionary. It is strange and interesting to see how often these two elements of life need to be mentioned side by side in tracing the course of history, and especially, it may be, in tracing American history. The zealous and devoted followers of the cross traveled through Canada and these western regions, enduring

almost unbelievable suffering in their anxiety to save the souls of the Indians. No words of description, only the plain unadorned facts are sufficient to bring to us any appreciation of their bravery and consecration. And all through their experiences runs the dark thread of the vicious influence of the lawless fur-traders with their brandy, and the vices of so-called civilization; for the Indians were learning the joys of intoxication and were suffering from their contact with the whites.

The most attractive figure among these early missionaries was Father Jacques Marquette, born in 1637 at Laon in the north of France. In youth he became a member of the Jesuit order and at 29 years of age was sent to Canada. A year or two after his arrival, he began his work in the northern lake region. He was a man of singularly winning character, as brave as he was gentle. His devotion to his church and his religion were undeviating, and, as far as I know, untainted. In 1673, he undertook with Joliet, a memorable journey. He began his voyage with words of thankfulness: "The day of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin; whom I have continually invoked, since I came to this country of the Ottawas, to obtain from God the favor of being enabled to visit the nations on the River Mississippi,—was precisely that on which M. Joliet arrived with orders from Count Frontenac, our governor, and from M. Talon, our intendant, to go with me on this discovery."

Louis Joliet, the son of a wagonmaker, was born in Quebec, was educated by the Jesuits, gave evidence in his youth of mental gifts of a high order, abandoned his intention of becoming a priest and entered the fur-trade, that alluring employment which enticed so many young men to leave all behind them for life in the wilds and for hopes of adventure and profit. He was one of the boldest and most successful of the early western explorers.

The two travelers, with five companions, left Point St. Ignace May 17, 1673; paddled their canoes along the western shore of Lake Michigan, and thence, by way of Green Bay, the Fox River, and the Wisconsin, reached the Mississippi June 17; and, as Marquette says, "with a joy I cannot express" they pushed their frail barks into the sweeping current by the Father of Waters. They glided down the great river, as far as the Arkansas, and then turned back to make their dreary and dangerous way up the river to the lake. They had found that the Mississippi plainly must empty into the Gulf, and not into the Atlantic or Pacific. They returned to the North by the Illinois and Des Plaines Rivers, crossed the Chicago portage to the lake, and finished a journey of some twenty-five hundred miles. Joliet

appears to have been impressed, perhaps unduly, with the ease of communication between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, by way of the Chicago and the Des Plaines, and new visions of magnificent trade and empire in the West arose in the minds of the rulers at Quebec. After this great discovery, Joliet's chief interests were in the farther north; he went at one time, to Hudson's Bay, and also made an exploring expedition along the coast of Labrador. He died at Quebec at the end of the century.

Of the brave and gentle Marquette, a few more words must be said. Intent upon carrying forward his missionary work among the western Indians, he, in the autumn of 1674, with two French companions and a band of Indians, made his way along the west shore of Lake Michigan and entered the Chicago River a short distance from the mouth they set up a shelter, perhaps only a wigwam, in which to pass the winter; for Marquette was stricken with a mortal illness and unable to go farther. As far as we know from available records, this dreary camp was the very first habitations of white men at the site of Chicago. The story of that bleak and dismal winter is a bright spot in the annals of western discovery. The Indians visited the missionary and his companions, treated them with kindness and brought them food; and even some wandering *coureurs de bois* visited the camp and gave assistance. Too little of this spirit of fellowship is to be discovered in the tales of western adventure; but the lowly, mild Jesuit father was able, by the very weakness of his body and the strength of his spirit, to win victories that physical energy could not have achieved. Surviving the rigors of the winter, he went forward in the spring to a village of the Illinois, near the present town of Utica. Here he was hailed by the Indians, it is said, as "an angel from Heaven." He preached his faith to the savages who thronged to hear his words, and established the Illinois mission. But his strength was ebbing, and he resolved to return to the mission at the north; many of the Indians, seemingly unwilling to give him up, followed him for a long distance and strove to aid him in all possible ways. He reached Lake Michigan, probably by way of the Des Plaines and the Chicago. Then, with their feeble passenger, the voyagers began their tiresome journey along the east shore of the Lake, intending to reach Mackinaw or St. Ignace. But the brave and patient missionary did not live to finish the journey. His companions buried him at some place among the sand dunes that skirt the western shore of the great Lake.

Joliet and Marquette were among the first, probably the very first, white men to pass the Chicago portage; and Marquette was in

all probability the first white man to camp for any length of time on the banks of the river. No one can be quite positive of these things, because fur traders were roaming, even in these early days, in the region of the lakes. But at all events, the history of the Chicago River and of Chicago begins for us with the adventures of these intrepid explorers.

We must now turn to two other men of impressive strength and of amazing fortitude and persistence, René Robert Cavelier, de la Salle, and Henri de Tonti. In speaking of them, we pay deference not only to their courage and resourcefulness, but also to a spirit of friendly and courteous companionship, which adds one more gleam of light to the dark story of rivalry, envy and enmity, that disfigures the history of western exploration. Men that face the cruelties of the wilderness are not likely to be mild and humble spirits; not at least if they are carried along by hope of material gain and conquest. The privations of the wilderness, the suffering and the loneliness, which explorers are called upon to endure, often appear to harden and exasperate their tempers. But we find scarcely a flaw in the mutual confidence of these two men amid conditions which might well have broken down the morale and the equanimity of the most serene. Tonti's undeviating support of an imperious, ambitious and rather visionary leader appeals to all admirers of constancy and friendship—friendship between men has from far distant ages been the theme of poetry, story and legend.

La Salle was born at Rouen, France, in 1643, the son of a prosperous merchant and a member of an honorable family. He was well educated, displayed at an early age unusual mental gifts, and was associated for a time with the Jesuits, from whom he probably received religious and secular instruction. But the Jesuit order or the priesthood was not for him. When twenty-three years of age, he left France for Quebec, and we soon find his mind fired with wide visions of western settlement and with hopes of dominion for France in the new world.

Tonti, an Italian, but a resident of France, was sent to Canada to take part in the formidable enterprises which LaSalle had much at heart. In the early days, LaSalle wrote of him; "His honorable character and his amiable disposition were well known to you; but perhaps you would not have thought him capable of doing things for which a strong constitution and acquaintance with the country and the use of both hands seemed absolutely necessary. Nevertheless, his energy and address make him equal to anything; and now, at a season when everybody is in fear of the ice, he is setting out to

begin a new fort two hundred leagues from this place, and to which I have taken the liberty to give the name of Fort Conti." Such was "Tonti of the iron hand." He had lost a hand some years before, and because of this crippled condition would have appeared, as LaSalle said, to have been ill-fitted to encounter the toil and the danger that awaited him. Aided by our knowledge of his deeds, we can picture in imagination this resolute, cheerful, resourceful and faithful young Italian, pushing westward and southward into the dangers of the untracked continent. To overcome obstacles required physical strength; but the even greater need was for courage, faith and mental poise. Those qualities were Tonti's own.

LaSalle's plans, when fully developed, were on a magnificent scale. They included nothing less than to secure the Mississippi basin and to hold it as a part of the domain of the Grand Monarch of France. He planned to establish not only posts, but colonies, or something like colonies in the interior. Despite Louis's fear that his subjects would wander from the authority of his representatives in Canada, LaSalle planned to go even as far as the Gulf of Mexico; he saw in imagination France holding both the entrances to the interior of the continent, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The plan was not unlike a project for occupying the whole interior of Africa, by control of the Congo and Nile basins. The physical difficulties to be overcome were enormous. Wind and weather, accident by lake and river, hunger, heat and cold, all had to be overcome; thousands of miles of wilderness must be traversed; canoes must be paddled up, as well as down, streams and rivers, and for hundreds of miles over the water of storm-tossed lakes; supplies and canoes must be carried over rough and slimy portages. But all this toil was, on the whole, inconsiderable compared with the human obstacles. The Iroquois Indians were a menace; for their war parties ranged at times far into this interior region, leaving devastation in their train. LaSalle was twice near to death from poison. He had enemies at court, enemies at Quebec, spies or discontented in his own company. He had to borrow money at fabulous rates and to give up all and more than all of his own to achieve his purposes. The jealousies and the intrigues of the *courcurs de bois* and the fur-traders had to be reckoned with. Before the end of the seventeenth century, many Frenchmen were engaged in the trade; there were hundreds of them, first and last, in the fourth quarter of the seventeenth century. Sometimes hundreds of canoes in a single flotilla came down the St. Lawrence; there is record of one such fleet of 400 canoes with 200 Frenchmen, over 1,000 Indians, and cargoes of

furs estimated to be worth a million livres. The merchants and shopkeepers at Montreal had no zeal for the establishment of colonies or trading posts in the Mississippi basin when the Indians and the white men bringing their furs to Canada would give the merchants profit and squander money riotously in the older and greedy settlements.

Everyone here knows something of LaSalle's efforts and disappointments, his unfailing faith, his magnificent courage, his marvelous endurance. He built a ship, *The Griffin*, at Niagara, with Tonti's aid, and sailed to Green Bay. She was sent back with a load of furs and was never heard from again. He passed on by way of Lake Michigan, the St. Joseph and the Kankakee Rivers to the Illinois, and on the banks of the river built Fort Crevecoeur, "the first civilized habitation of a permanent character in the modern state of Illinois." He heard nothing of the "*Griffin*"; he needed supplies; he was in want of everything, save the steadfast encouragement of Tonti, for that he had. And so trusting that faithful lieutenant to maintain himself and his companions in the wilderness, he entered upon the incredible task of making his way, not by way of the Lakes, but largely by overland routes, from the Illinois to the St. Lawrence. Five men, four Frenchmen and one Indian, began with him this journey, declared to be "the most arduous journey ever made by Frenchmen in America." They started on March 1, 1680, when the streams and swamps and mud were at their worst; their endurance and courage were amazing. LaSalle's own words are more graphic than any of mine could possibly be: "Though we must suffer all the time from hunger; sleep on the open ground, and often without food; watch by night and march by day, loaded with baggage, such as blanket, clothing, kettle, hatchet, gun, powder, lead and skins to make mocasins; sometimes pushing through thickets, sometimes climbing rocks covered with ice and snow, sometimes wading whole days through marshes where the water was waist deep or even more, at a season when the snow was not entirely melted,—though I knew all this, it did not prevent me from resolving to go to Fort Frontenac to learn for myself what had become of my vessel and bring back the things we needed." The travellers reached Lake Michigan, perhaps coming down the Calumet, left their canoes, tramped along the lower shores of the Lake, where now a comfortable paved highway leads to the region where old Fort Miami stood at the mouth of the St. Joseph. Onward they pressed, overcoming seemingly impassable obstacles, crossed southern Michigan, made a canoe to go down the Huron, abandoned this canoe and

pushed on overland to the Detroit River, crossed the river on a raft, and found their way on to the northern shore of Lake Erie. Two men had been sent from Detroit to Mackinac, and, of the three remaining with the tireless leader, two were ill and quite unfit for work; but another canoe was made and launched upon the Lake. They reached Niagara, only to be met there with positive news of the Griffin's disappearance and the wrecking of a ship from France with a precious and indispensable cargo of supplies. Of the company, only LaSalle was now able to do more; his strength was as inexhaustible as his courage; an example, it would seem, of the value of mental poise and mental vigor to those who would withstand the hardship and the perils of the wilderness. "A Rocky Mountain trapper," writes Parkman, "being complimented on the hardihood of himself and his companions, once said to the writer [Parkman], 'That's so, but a gentleman of the right sort will stand hardship better than anybody else.' " La Salle and Tonti were gentlemen of the right sort—not gilt trappings or powdered hair, not the palaver of court, but the vigor of the trained mind and the indomitable spirit, were the heart and center of their gentlemanliness.

Passing over the difficulties which confronted LaSalle at the older settlements in the east, we find him again journeying to Mackinac, heavy hearted, for he had heard of the disasters of Tonti, whom he had left behind him in the wilderness of Illinois. From Mackinac, he pushed forward to the St. Joseph, and thence, in the bleak days of November, 1680, on to the Illinois, only to find ruin and desolation wrought by the hand of the Iroquois. Once more he turned back and began a weary journey during terrible days of an excessively cold winter, through snow that was sometimes waist deep, so deep, he says, "that I often had much ado, though I am rather tall, to lift my legs above the drifts, through which I pushed by the weight of my body." He reached Fort Miani on the St. Joseph and found no news of Tonti. The next spring, after weeks spent in profoundly interesting negotiations with the Indians, whom he tried to make bulwarks against the forays of the savage and ruthless Iroquois, he passed northward to Mackinac, and found to his heart's delight the equally unconquerable and courageous Tonti.

One feels hesitation amounting to discomfort to be obliged to hurry over in his narrative the accomplishments of the next five years. Once again, this time with Tonti, LaSalle went to the St. Lawrence and then returned to enter upon his great task of exploring the Mississippi to its mouth. In the latter days of 1681 they crossed the Chicago portage and went on down the Illinois. You

know the result. The impossible was accomplished. In the month of April, 1682, with such ceremony as could be employed in the wilds of a savage country, LaSalle, at the mouth of the great river, took possession of the vast valley "in the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre." Here we may well leave him. His journey back, his plans for French dominion on the Gulf, his expedition at a later time in search by sea for the opening of the Mississippi, his death at the hands of treachery in Texas, are the elements of a romantic, fascinating and tragic story.

These two explorers, whom no hardship could overcome and no perils could discourage, forever remain examples of a hardihood and a constancy which force the doubter and the pessimist to take new courage and have renewed faith in the capacity of men for service.

Was the work of the four explorers all in vain? No one can say how lasting and far reaching were the efforts of Marquette; but it is itself an interesting fact that we first turn to the man of gentleness and peace, and that we hesitate to question the permanent effect of his religious teaching and his character. The work of LaSalle and Tonti was doomed to failure, as far as it contemplated the winning of the Mississippi basin for France, as the seat of a permanent empire. The hostility of the Iroquois, the vast spaces to be explored and settled, the ambitions of France in Europe, the power of Britain on the sea, and many other things made difficult or impossible the task of the empire builders. But even more conclusive in the long run, probably, was the presence along the Atlantic seaboard of rapidly growing British colonies, with free institutions, colonies filled with men of sturdy purpose, who, slowly, almost silently, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were pushing their way backward to the mountains, and preparing for the natural and inevitable penetration of the back country beyond the mountains, the immense and alluring valley, which they themselves called the great western world. The direst enemy of French or Spanish possession of the mid-continent was not the savages, not the fur traders of Albany whom Frontenac and LaSalle dreaded and opposed, but the pioneer farmer of the British colonies, behind whom were the plain men and women of the coast, building towns and cities, and reaching out daily with ever renewed vigor. Anyone driving an automobile today over the great national turnpike across the Allegheny Mountains, will gather, in his two-day journey, a vivid realization of that barrier, that series of wooded mountain ridges, which hemmed in the seacoast colonists along the Atlantic

plain, and he will get some idea of why and how it was that almost a century passed after Joliet and Marquette had passed down the Mississippi River—almost a century before Daniel Boone with five companions set out “to wander through the wilderness of America in quest of the country of Kentucky.”

The tablets unveiled today bear the names of four men—three Frenchmen and an Italian. This is some recognition of what was done by the men of the European continent in opening up America. I have immense admiration for the colonizing power of England. One must have the deepest respect for the skill and prowess of Englishmen, and gratitude for the planting on the Atlantic seaboard of those self-reliant and free colonies which grew into the United States. But, after all, as someone said long ago with truth, though perhaps with exaggeration, “not England, but Europe, was the mother of America.” The wider our vision and the more far reaching and generous our appreciation of the sources of American strength, the more humble we shall be and the more ready to acknowledge the services of many men and many nations in making us what we are.

A. C. McLAUGHLIN.

University of Chicago.

FIFTY YEARS OF HOSPITAL SERVICE

(Continued from October number)

FROM NEW YORK TO ALTON, ILL.

The railroad trip from New York to Alton consumed forty-eight hours, so that having left the great metropolis on the Hudson on Thursday night, November 4th, they reached their final goal on Saturday evening, November 6th, at 6:30. En route thither our emigrant Sisters beheld so many unwonted sights and scenes that their attention was riveted upon them throughout the journey. Our great American cities, beautiful rivers, peaceful villages and broad, fertile acres were again and again sources of unstinted admiration and glowing comment. Where they probably had surmised to see warlike Indians with tomahawk and scalping knife, buffaloes and coyotes, virgin prairies and dense forests, their enraptured gaze was everywhere to rest upon attainment of civilization and culture that fairly challenged the achievements of old Europe. Two priests had been delegated to meet the incoming train at the latter station. Father J. Jansen, V. G., was one of them. Carriages stood in readiness to convey our fatigued and travel-stained Sisters to the Cathedral where the Rt. Rev. Bishop P. J. Baltes awaited them at the portal. The bells in the spire rang out happy welcome to them, whilst joyous strains pealed forth from the organ. The timid nuns, now formed in procession, marched into the sacred edifice where the Bishop extended to them a most cordial welcome, speaking words of cheer and comfort, and assuring them of his continued interest, help and protection. With the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament and the singing of the Te Deum in which our good Franciscan Sisters lustily joined, the celebration closed. It had been moments of overwhelming emotions that surged in the hearts of our nuns on this ever memorable occasion and to this very day the few survivors love to tell of that arrival and reception at Alton. By this time, however, hunger, thirst and fatigue demanded something more than words of good cheer and comfort from the good Bishop, their stomachs had become rebellious and nothing but a substantial supper could reconcile them to the occasion. They soon, then, sat down to a plentiful repast which the thoughtful ladies of the parish had prepared for them. Not long after, having been shown the sleeping quarters, god Morpheus touched their heavy eyelids, all became still and quiet, the whole company was sound asleep.

After a most refreshing night's rest, the newly arrived Samaritans next morning reported to the Bishop that they were ready for duty; whereupon he decided that some were to proceed to Springfield, where at that time he himself intended to remove the Episcopal See, from Alton. Springfield was to be the headquarters of the new Community, to be started by Mother Angelica and Sister Cassiana, who soon were aided by four others, the permanent home of the Mother Provincial and Novitiate House. Some others he ordered to proceed to Decatur, Effingham, Litchfield, Saint Marie in Jasper County, East St. Louis, Belleville, and Aviston, Illinois.

But so far no provision had been made for the housing of the impecunious newcomers, who, twenty in number, were to take up hospital work in these various towns and cities. The appointees for Springfield were most cordially greeted and received by the Ursuline Sisters at the North End Academy, where they gratefully took up their temporary domicile until such time as a convenient house could be found wherein to establish a small hospital. Such a house, although altogether insufficient for the purpose was at length found. It was a small, dilapidated, brick house in the 800 block on South Seventh Street, known as the Bishop's block, where they continued to live until 1878, doing private nursing in the meantime.

This, then, was the primitive St. John's, which a few years later was to assume vast proportions on Mason Street, between Seventh and Ninth Streets, where today it covers two entire city blocks. Thus began one of the largest private hospitals in the United States with a capacity of about 550 beds, an obstetrical department, a large laundry, splendid nurses' home and school and a commodious Sisters' Convent. An isolation hospital is at present in course of construction. The chaplain, who here is designated as Director, occupies a spacious residence erected under the tenure of Rev. Hinsin. The superb chapel, like the hospital proper, has at various times been enlarged and beautified.

These Hospital Sisters of St. Francis have been wonderfully guided and directed by Divine Providence. Whereas in 1875 they came to America penniless, homeless and friendless; today they may proudly point to thirteen well equipped hospitals scattered over Illinois and Wisconsin, viz: at Springfield, St. John's, Riverton, Decatur, Belleville, Highland, Effingham, Lincoln, Streator, Sheboygan, Green Bay, Eau Claire, and Chippewa Falls. The number of Sisters has multiplied from the exiles of '75 to some 600 in 1925. The latest venture has been the foreign missions. A hospital was

opened in November at Tsi-nan-fu, China, by five experienced Sisters who sailed last September for the new mission field.

May God speed and bless their arduous undertaking!

BUILDING AT ST. JOHN'S

In 1878 they built that part of the magnificent hospital known today as the "Old Entrance Wing," which contained sixteen private rooms, four wards, a small chapel, a kitchen, etc.

In 1887 they built the east wing of the present hospital; in 1891 a further extension was added on the west side, and in 1892 another addition was built adjoining the west wing.

In 1907 a new fireproof addition was built containing a suite of operating rooms, and rooms for private patients. Soon after the entire third floor was remodelled and fitted up as private rooms for patients and a new fireproof building was erected to house the Sisters. This latter was built in 1910.

Next a new boiler-house and laundry were built, kitchen space increased and the chapel enlarged.

In 1912 the first addition was made to the nurses' home, which provided for fifty nurses.

In 1915 a department for children and maternity work was opened. In the same year a free dispensary was added.

In 1915 the new fireproof addition was opened and into this building the X-Ray and Laboratory Departments were moved where they occupy sixteen rooms.

About this same time the third annex was added to the nurses' home providing rooms for 110 nurses.

In 1923 the new Maternity and Children's Hospital was opened, which is considered the most modern and best equipped in the entire country. It accommodates fifty mothers and babies with a large reception room and beautiful nursery. Over 600 babies were born in St. John's during the year 1924.

At present another addition is being added to St. John's Hospital, namely, a contagious hospital which was begun last October and will be completed next April.

We have here given a mere outline of this wonderful institution—a hospital which is the pride of our diocese and an inspiration to our country, built and managed by the saintly, self-sacrificing Daughters of the Seraphic St. Francis.

We here and now appeal to our readers everywhere to study well the work of these noble women. The cry of our Bishop: The

appeal of those Sisters is—"more Sisters—more candidates—more young women of heroic mould to join this noble order, to learn the spirit of St. Francis—to carry on the work of God, for Christ and Suffering Humanity."

In St. John's Hospital, the mother-house of the Order, since 1875, over 730 Sisters have joined the Order. Of that heroic band, 174 have joined the company of Jesus in Heaven.

THE SISTERS' GOLDEN JUBILEE CELEBRATION

Fifty years had elapsed, in November, 1925, since the valiant twenty had arrived on the shores of America. It was therefore meet and just that this important event in the history of the Community be commemorated in a fitting manner. A program, dignified and simple, was arranged for the occasion. This program was carried out in each of the thirteen hospitals under the direct charge of these humble Franciscan Sisters. It lasted three days, beginning with November 12th and ending on the 14th.

On the morning of the first day a Solemn Pontifical Mass was celebrated by the Ordinary of the Springfield Diocese, Rt. Rev. J. A. Griffin, which was followed by a banquet at which the diocesan clergy were present. On the second day Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, and on the morning of the third day Solemn Requiem for all departed Sisters of the community. This program was impressive, meeting with hearty approval of all invited guests and friends of the Sisterhood.

In his eulogy the Bishop pointed out how material success and financial returns are the standard of success in the world today, as they have been for years. But, said the Bishop, "material success and financial returns are not and never have been the measure of any success that has been enduring or permanent. Such an enduring, permanent success must be based on a foundation and inspired by a motive sounder than anything material, sublimer than anything earthly.

"High and noble natures rebel at the thought of being governed by such sordid motives. What we need are men and women, independent enough, to scorn such worldly maxims! The mob, the world may mark such down as radicals or cranks—but in due time the mob and the world will be forced to admire you, tomorrow they will imitate you, the day after they will extol your achievements.

"It is safe to say that no man of his time so deeply and so universally influenced the individuals and the nations of the world as did the Poor Man of Assisi—St. Francis, the Seraphic.

"He moulded not only the man on the street, but poets, sculptors, men of letters, scientists, statesmen, etc.

"Why? Because St. Francis' life work was built on the solid, enduring foundation of religion, and motivated by love for the world's greatest benefactor, Christ Jesus, the Redeemer.

"That same spirit that immortalized St. Francis has permeated his sons and daughters the world over."

As time went on, the services of the Sisters became an ever increasing demand, but their number was, alas! too small to satisfy all urgent requests, nay, they were compelled to discontinue and abandon a number of rather prosperous hospitals, of which they had had charge for years. Among these were the Wabash hospitals of Springfield, Decatur, Peru, Ind., Kansas City, Mo., the flourishing St. Henry's Hospital of East St. Louis, St. Marie, Jasper County, Edwardsville, Aviston, the Belleville Orphanage, and a hospital of Madison, Illinois.

To sustain and strengthen the others it seemed imperative to relinquish the above mentioned ones. The latest demand for our hospital Sisters came recently from Washington, Mo., where at present a new hospital is in course of erection. This, together with the Chinese tentative colony of Tsi-nan-fu brings up the number to fifteen.

Mother Angelica, the first Superioress of Springfield's St. John's Hospital, was a native of Altenruethen, Westphalia, where she was born November 25, 1832. At the age of 24 years, on March 25, 1855, she entered Religion; was invested a Franciscan Sister May 10, 1856, and presided over the destinies of the American Community from 1875 till September 12, 1880, when she was recalled by the Mother General to Germany where she died July 4, 1895.

How universally our little Community's services had in those early years already captivated the well-wishes and confidences of Springfield's public may be deduced from the fact that they were called to nurse Mrs. Abraham Lincoln in her last illness; and of our venerable octogenarian Sister Frances it may be stated that she enjoys an uncommon amount of popularity among all classes of people. Whenever she is seen on the city's streets one will be sure to hear from men and women the ever-repeated greeting: "Hello! Sister Frances." In return to which she invariably answers: "Hello! Jim, Jack or Joe, or Kate," whatever their given name may be; for there is hardly a home in Springfield where good Sister Frances has not been called in at some time as a practical nurse.

Said a local popular business man quite recently to the writer: "When I was a little boy going to school mother was sick a-bed, with Sister Frances sitting by her side. But when I became noisy in or near the sickroom, disturbing mother's rest, Sister Frances, without much ado, would take me to the wood-shed and what happened there to me needs no further explanation—the house remained quiet thereafter."

(To be continued)

(REV.) A. ZURBONSEN.

Springfield, Ill.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

The Eucharistic Congress.—The year 1926 will be made notable by the Eucharistic Congress which will be held in Chicago during the month of June. As is well known this Congress is perhaps the most notable quasi-public function of the Church and it is confidently expected that at least a million visitors will be attracted to Chicago. The April number of the *ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW* will treat extensively of the Congress, historical aspects of the Eucharistic doctrine, and of the annual conclave.

The Anniversary Spirit.—The public has at last caught the historical spirit. A determined and persistent reference in public and in various periodicals seems to have borne fruit with reference especially to the Marquette anniversaries. Whether we are entitled to any credit for the cultivation of this feeling in the public mind or not, it is nevertheless a fact that beginning with the July number of the *ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*, in 1918, we have with each quarterly issue of this magazine drawn attention to the approach and the passage of the 250th Anniversaries of Father Marquette's visits to Illinois. We have pointed out in each issue that the great missionary passed through the Illinois and Chicago Rivers in the autumn of 1673; that he again visited Chicago and Illinois in 1674-5, landing at the mouth of the Chicago River (then at the foot of what is now Madison Street) on December 4th, 1674; that he remained at the mouth in a cabin erected to shield him from the inclemency of the weather for seven days, and that on the 11th of December, 1674, his canoe, with such supplies and belongings as he had with him, was drawn up the Chicago River, over the ice, sledgewise, two leagues, which brought him to what is now the junction of Robey Street and the Drainage Canal. There, a cabin was erected in which he and his two companions sheltered themselves from December 12th, 1674, to March 29th, 1675.

There have been several celebrations during 1923, 1924 and 1925 of these anniversaries, and all of them have been of a public and non-sectarian nature, which, of course, has been very pleasing, the latest observance, being the unveiling of the tablets on the grand Michigan Boulevard (Link) bridge, so well described in other pages of this magazine. These attentions have been gratifying, but all who have been conversant with the subject will agree that not nearly enough interest was manifested in these important events. While all that was done is worthy, yet this generation has not nearly discharged its obligations to the memory of the men who first braved the wilderness and marked the path for civilization and the progress and prosperity of the great region in which we have found home and happiness.

It is gratifying to note that already another anniversary of great importance is being considered, namely, the 100th Anniversary of the organization of Chicago. The very fact that 100 years since the organization of our metropolitan city, as a town, will not have passed until 1934, and its organization as a city, until 1937, serves to signalize the importance of the Marquette anniversaries by the contrasting fact that Marquette and the early explorers were on the site of Chicago more than 150 years before Chicago became a town or city.

Bring the Marquette Statue to the Lake Front.—A man of wealth and of great public spirit, Charles Fergus, spent most of his life in Chicago and died here several years ago. He had the historical bent, and collected considerable historical data; had the same printed and made available to succeeding generations. At his death, he willed a considerable sum to the trustees of the Art Institute of Chicago, for the purpose of erecting monuments to honor distinguished people in Chicago's records and to mark historical places. In fulfillment of the directions of his will, the trustees of the Art Institute have provided for several monuments and markers of various kinds, amongst them a bronze statue in honor of Father Marquette as the discoverer and first white visitor and resident of Chicago. This monument, when erected, will be the greatest memorial to the pioneer missionary in the United States, not excepting the statue unveiled to him in the Library of Congress, at Washington, D. C. It is the finest tribute that has been paid to the great discoverer and explorer.

Tentatively the place for the monument has been selected as the school grounds of the Harrison Technical School. This writer has never been able to learn why that location should be selected. It is utterly without significance, and, besides, is in an out of the way place, where it would be entirely hidden. Father Marquette was for months, and at two different times, upon and beside the Chicago River. Accordingly almost any point along the Chicago River would be suitable and appropriate for his monument. The site at what is now Robey Street and the Drainage Canal, where the great missionary resided for a period of nearly four months would be appropriate. The junction of the two branches of the Chicago River which he passed and chose the South Branch, would be appropriate. The vicinity of the Michigan Boulevard (Link) bridge, where the original bed of the river still remains, and upon which Marquette undoubtedly rode in a canoe or travelled upon the ice, would be appropriate, but beyond question, the most appropriate place of all, would be the Lake front, at the foot of Madison Street, where the river then emptied, and where Marquette first stepped upon the soil of Chicago, and where he dwelt for seven days before proceeding up the river to his more permanent abode.

It occurs to this writer that it would be a grievous error to hide the monument away from public view and in a sense, at least, to distort the history of Chicago, by placing this monument at the point which has been suggested by the Board entrusted with this Fergus Fund, for the benefit of the people of Chicago. An interest should be aroused in this matter and representations made to the Board of Trustees, before steps have been taken that cannot be corrected.

THE FIRST VISITOR AND FIRST RESIDENT OF CHICAGO DESERVES A FITTING MEMORIAL IN THE MOST CONSPICUOUS PLACE IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO. BRING THE MARQUETTE MONUMENT TO THE LAKE FRONT.

Growing in Merit and Popular Esteem.—The present number of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW is very gratifying to its promoters. The contributions, one and all, are intensely interesting and extremely valuable. Not since the establishment of the magazine has a more varied and meritorious series of contributions been presented. Readers are asked to note that the REVIEW has gained strength from year to year, contrary to the usual experience of such ventures. It is the common experience that historical publications flourish for a short while, find themselves unable to obtain support sufficient

for their proper maintenance, and decline. THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW is now nearly eight years old. At no time has the magazine been less than ninety-six pages of reading matter, and the number has run as high as 150 pages. When it might be expected that the field of history was exhausted, we have been fortunate enough to find fresh sources of supply, year by year, and quarter by quarter, as is made especially evident by the present number. So patent is this fact that we feel called upon to direct attention to several new writers, whose work appears in this number.

It is a pleasure to welcome Reverend W. D. Pike, pastor of the Mother Cathedral of the West, Bardstown, Kentucky. Had Father Pike been a well trained lawyer, of ripe experience in discussion, he could not have made a finer analysis of the much talked of "Legend of Louis Philippe." No reader can afford to omit reading Father Pike's article.

Reverend Paul J. Foik, whom some of us have known as the diligent collector of historical documents at Notre Dame, has done excellent work in his article entitled, "Among the Indian Chiefs at the Great Miami." Father Foik, who is now in St. Edward's University, of Austin, Texas, is to be a regular contributor and associate editor of the REVIEW, and we may anticipate many valuable articles from his pen.

From our own state and "down state," as we say, comes another excellent article in the form of a speech by a brilliant lawyer, John J. Ryan, of Monmouth, Illinois. Mr. Ryan's address graced a public function of a dual nature, namely, the observance of Columbus Day by the Knights of Columbus, and a Memorial on the early missionaries declared martyrs by the Holy Father in June of this year. Mr. Ryan has developed his subject in a fascinating manner, and we are certain that readers will be anxious for more of his work.

Father Rothensteiner and Father Zurbonsen need no introduction to our readers, as they have frequently appeared in the columns of the REVIEW, but we think it is true that Father Rothensteiner, who is the official historian of the diocese of St. Louis, has written nothing more interesting than his story of the Sulpicians in Illinois, published in this number.

We welcome to this number Professor A. C. McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, and with much satisfaction, publish his address on the occasion of the unveiling of the tablets to Marquette and Joliet, and LaSalle and Tonti, as detailed in other columns.

In the foregoing remarks we have presented the literary side only of the REVIEW. Readers need but turn over the pages of this number to realize the financial position of the publication. Despite the limited circulation, which should be ten times what it is, the REVIEW has proven an extremely valuable advertising medium, and business men and advertisers of sagacity and prudence are flocking to its columns. It is due our advertising manager, Mr. H. E. Rice, that we acknowledge his splendid efforts in marshaling the advertising patronage. The REVIEW contains more solid advertising than any publication of its nature published in the United States.

At the end of one year and the beginning of another, it is most gratifying to be able to present such an estimate and inventory, and at the same time, express our gratitude to the friends and supporters of the publication. It is our hope and wish that all have enjoyed the blessings of the Holy Season and that peace, happiness and progress may attend you in the New Year and all the years to come.

MISCELLANY

HONORING THE MEMORY OF COLUMBUS

BY FREDERICK J. HASKIN

The Pan American Union recently made two announcements, which coming on the heels of the unveiling of San Martin's statue, indicate that this organization and interests allied with it are making progress in their effort to link the Americas with friendship. These announcements were that there would be erected at Santo Domingo City, capital of the Dominican Republic, a memorial to Christopher Columbus, who, according to most present day authorities is buried there, and that the Dominican Republic soon would present a statue of Juan Pablo Duarte, its George Washington, to the Hall of Heroes in the Pan American Building here. The former announcement will, no doubt, be of great interest to Americans.

The memorial to Columbus will be a unique affair. It will be a lighthouse. This Faro de Colon—Light of Columbus—will be one of the highest lighthouses in the world. It will look out from Santo Domingo City at the ships passing to and from the Panama Canal, and its flashes, arranged in Morse code, will spell out Colon.

The type of light that will be used will be an innovation in lighthouse beacons. It is called the Neon Light, made possible by new colors discovered at the end of the spectrum. It is a reddish yellow color and is very penetrating, being plainly discernible in heavy fogs. It is cheap and is in use along the London-Paris airway. It can be operated on one-fourth the power needed for an ordinary electric light of the same size.

The lighthouse will be a combination. It is planned to make it a shrine to Columbus and there will be a museum of Columbus relics in it. Likewise there will be a temple dedicated to him and his mausoleum will be removed from its present resting place—the Cathedral at Santo Domingo City where Duarte is also buried—and placed there.

SUGGESTED BY PULLIAM

The idea of a lighthouse memorial to the First Admiral originated in the mind of an American, William E. Pulliam, receiver general of the Dominican republic. He broached the subject to the people of that nation and received an enthusiastic response.

A committee was formed, made up of Dominicans, which set out on a campaign to bring about the realization of the project. All the

countries of the Americas were responsive, and even European nations welcomed the idea. There is now a working organization in Santo Domingo City which is making steady progress toward the completion of plans for the memorial. A recent message from Cuba states that co-operation from that country may be counted on, while the Pan American congress, sitting at Santiago de Chile, May 7, 1925, lent its endorsement. When the fundamental plans of organization financing are completed an architect's competition will be held and a design selected.

The burial place of Columbus was long a subject of controversy, but of late years it has been established almost beyond doubt that the cathedral of Santo Domingo City houses his bones.

Columbus died in Valladolid, Spain, in the year 1506. In 1513 his body was removed to Seville, where it remained for more than twenty years. In 1537, however, in accordance with his expressed wishes, it was transferred to Santo Domingo City and laid in the cathedral, which had been erected in 1514 at the imperial order of Ferdinand and Isabella, and is one of the most important religious buildings in the Western Hemisphere today. Columbus was buried beside the bodies of his son and brother.

In 1795 Spain, by treaty, ceded the island of Santo Domingo—the modern Haiti and the Dominican republic—to France. The Spanish officer in charge of the island decided that it would be unworthy of his country and himself to leave the casket of one so illustrious in the service of Spain in foreign hands, so he ordered it removed to Havana. This was done with great solemnity and ceremony, or, rather, what was believed to be the casket of Columbus was removed.

In 1877 the cathedral, being in need of repair, was being worked over by a group of workmen. There had been vague rumors in Santo Domingo City that Columbus' body was still in the cathedral and that it was that of his son Diego which had been removed to Havana, but the people had paid no attention to them. When, however these workmen, digging in the ancient walls, ran on to forgotten doors and half-buried compartments, and reported the discovery of a casket, these rumors gained credence. And later, when, in the presence of the archbishop and an august group of foreign dignitaries and representatives, this casket was unearthed and the words First Admiral found inscribed upon it, the rumors became fact and with salutes of cannon and many ceremonies the Dominican republic hailed the discovery of the tomb of the discoverer of American.

Then followed years of rest for the Genoan in the cathedral built by the monarchs he served. His mausoleum is in it now, but what

is considered to be a more distinguishing memorial to him will house it soon.

PAN AMERICAN HEROES

The Hall of Heroes in the Pan American Union building is situated in the west corridor on the second floor and it is planned to have a bust of each national hero in the Western Hemisphere deposited there. Ecuador, Paraguay and Nicaragua will, after the presentation of Duarte's image, be the only ones unrepresented. Ecuador's bust is selected, but has not arrived yet.

Duarte is immortal in Dominican history. It was he who named the republic. It was he who founded the famous Trinity which resulted in the Endless Chain, an organization which started the Spanish inhabitants of Santo Domingo Island toward independence. Like so many men who give themselves to a public cause, he became a martyr to his people and was exiled in 1844. He died in Venezuela in 1884 and his body subsequently was brought back to the Dominican republic and placed in the cathedral at Santo Domingo City, where it has reposed ever since.

The Hall of Heroes is a shrine of Pan American friendship. The Columbus memorial, sponsored and supported so enthusiastically by the Pan American Union, is another evidence of the solidarity of this friendship. The two together are further evidence that this friendship, already puissant, is growing stronger.

ROMANTIC LIFE OF COLUMBUS TOLD BY NUMEROUS RELICS

BY ASSOCIATED PRESS

Chicago, Nov. 13.—Tangible records of Christopher Columbus—the most mysterious and romantic figure in America's historical background—are being accumulated here in a collection of relics and pictures, documents and seals, which began with the World's Columbian exposition here in 1893.

The anchor of iron which stabilized the flagship Santa Maria of the exploring fleet has been added to the Columbian exhibit of the Chicago Historical society by gifts from the South Park Board. More than nine feet high, weighing nearly two tons, the anchor reposed in Santo Domingo, Haiti, for nearly four centuries.

Presented to the exposition by Dr. Alejandro Llenas of Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, the anchor has been authenticated by many

museum curators. It was secured by Dr. Llenas during his extensive research into Columbus lore and relics in the West Indies.

In the ruins of Navidad, 200 years after its founding, was found an inventory by Columbus' own hand. "Anchor of the varavel" was on the faded parchment.

Relics of the early voyages of Columbus remained in the West Indies. In La Rabida, a convent on the rocky coast of Spain, many of these monuments of the great navigator have been collected into what is considered the greatest exhibit of Columbiana in the world.

Although the Columbian exhibit of the historical society includes many facsimiles of originals now in the hands of the Royal Society of Spain, or in the convent La Rabida, there are several writings at first hand. The signatures of Ferdinand and Isabella, solemnized by the ponderous seal of Spain are recorded on parchment fragments. Cardinal Ximenes of the late 15th century has given his hand to a document contained in the collection. Others are by the Vespucci, family of Amerigo Vesputius, a strong claimant for the honor of having found the new land.

An original of Gunther's book, "Cosmography," printed in Latin, the first book on record using the name "America," has just come to the collection. Bits of horseshoes, stirrups, mailed shoes and other trappings worn by the "grand caballeros" of the early 16th century, West Indies, are among the exhibits. The first bell to peal forth in the new world, the Isabella Bell, is a valued part of the collection.

NEW ORLEANS OLD FRENCH QUARTER TO BE PRESERVED

New Orleans, Dec. 2.—Vieux Carre, French quarter of Old New Orleans, where memories of yesterday abound on every side, will be protected from modernism.

A commission of seven members has been created to act in an advisory capacity with city council to see that no buildings or repairs "out of character" crowd into the historic section now 200 years old.

Here stand the Cabildo, where transfer of the Louisiana Purchase took place; St. Louis Cathedral, built in 1794; the French market, dating from 1723; Napoleon House, built by Girod for the Emperor's residence when Lafitte's men should bring him from St. Helena; the shop of Lafitte, the pirate himself, and the Old Absinthe House, no longer selling absinthe, but still hale and hearty after a hundred years.

The Pontalba buildings, facing Jackson Square on either side, have known such residents and guests as William Makepeace Thackeray, Jenny Lind and Lafayette.

Preservation of the quarter means that Jackson Square will continue to look out on scenes little changed from 1856, when the monument to "Old Hickory" was erected. Here General Jackson was crowned hero of Chalmette by the Creole girls of Louisiana and it was in this same place D'Armes that Don Antonio Ulloa received the keys of the city and took possession of it in the name of the King of Spain.

INDIANS BACK TO RICE FIELDS WHEN MACHINES FAIL

Cass Lake, Minn., Oct. 21.—Machinery, ally of the pale face, has failed in its effort to collect rice in the innumerable lakes of Minnesota and the Indians have been temporarily successful in defending their traditional monopoly of wild rice harvest.

F. J. Scott, acting superintendent of the Consolidated Chippewa Agency here, said this was due to the impracticability of modern rice harvesting machinery rather than to the counter efforts of the red man.

The Indians were greatly alarmed at the appearance of rice harvesting machines. They not only threatened to remove an indispensable means of making a livelihood but literally destroyed the precious fields. The heavy boats necessary to carry the binder-like contraptions ripped the tender stalks from the shallow water, spoiling virtually all rice that the reaper missed.

Now the tribesmen and their families in birch-bark canoes and awkward, but light flat-bottom boats, are proceeding as in the days of old.

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CONTENTS

SEEING THE BODY OF OUR LORD	<i>Herbert Thurston, S. J., London</i>	291
THE PROGRAM OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS	<i>Eugene Weare</i>	306
INDULGENCES GRANTED ATTENDANTS AT THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS	<i>George Cardinal Mundelein</i>	313
HISTORY OF EUCHARISTIC CONGRESSES	<i>Anthony Matré, Chicago</i>	316
PATRON SAINT OF THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS	<i>John Ireland Gallery, Washington</i>	342
THE HISTORICAL SETTING FOR THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS	<i>Joseph J. Thompson, Chicago</i>	349
THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST	<i>Joseph Husslein, S. J.</i>	354
TO RECEIVE THE BLESSED BODY OF OUR LORD SACRAMENTALLY AND VIRTUALLY BOTH	<i>Sir Thomas More Knight</i>	371
EDITORIAL COMMENT		381
MUSICAL PROGRAM		383

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SEEING THE BODY OF OUR LORD

The Church is a living organism, not a dead trunk, and one of the ways in which it gives proof of both vitality and adaptability is by the continual evolution which we observe in its devotional practices. More especially is this true of the remarkable development which has taken place in the extra-liturgical cultus of the Blessed Sacrament. I think it may be said that the process of this development has come to be adequately understood only in recent years, and it will be my object in the present paper to try to give a compendious account of the facts now generally admitted and to supply some scraps of fresh evidence which help to fill in the picture.

If we set ourselves to trace out the beginnings of the movement which has given us not only our Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, but also the *Quarant' Ore* or Forty Hours and other associated exercises so dear to the hearts of Catholics, we find that the starting point must be identified with a seemingly insignificant controversy, connected with a detail of Catholic teaching, which came to be debated in the theological schools of Paris during the latter half of the twelfth century. To the scientist of our own day or to the man of affairs, the point then in dispute can hardly appear otherwise than as a finicky scholastic subtlety. The professors themselves who took part in the discussion seemed disposed to treat the matter as of no great consequence—indeed some of them frankly said as much. No mention of the controversy will be found in our history books, or even in any but quite the most recent works which profess to deal with the currents of medieval thought. And yet that little disagreement among theologians has led to developments which have notably influenced the lives of many millions of the faithful and which have supplied a great deal of what is most distinctive in the devotional spirit of the Catholic Church at the present day.

There was nothing very abstruse or very complicated about the dispute of which I speak. By the middle of the twelfth century all, or nearly all,¹ the theological writers in western Europe had reached the conclusion that the transsubstantiation of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ was effected by the words "this is My Body," "this is the chalice of My Blood, etc.," as the priest recited them in the canon of the Mass. Upon this the western doctors were now agreed, though there had probably been some vagueness in the beliefs of an earlier period, owing partly no doubt to the influence of Greek ideas connected with the Epiclesis. But still a doubt remained as to whether transsubstantiation took place separately and successively in the two species, or simultaneously in both. Did the bread become the Body of Christ immediately when the priest had spoken the words *Hoc est corpus meum*, or was the change effected only when the other part of the form, *Hic est calix sanguinis mei*, etc., converted the wine into the Blood? The Body of our Lord, it was argued, included the Blood by concomitance; the Body could not be there without the Blood, but until the whole form was completed the Blood of Christ was not yet present. Therefore, they infer, it was, to say the least, unsafe to assume that what the priest held in his hands after pronouncing the words *Hoc est corpus meum* was already the Body of Christ and worthy of adoration. There can be no doubt that in the second half of the twelfth century a considerable number of the most prominent teachers held this view, defending it more particularly on the ground that in such a matter probability would not suffice and that before the Host was honored by any external act of worship, there ought to be absolute certainty that the body of Christ was present. Even as early as 1162,² or thereabouts, the problem was already being debated, for Stephen of Tournai in his *Summa* declares that while it is certain that transsubstantiation is effected by the recital of the words of institution embodied in the canon, "it would be superfluous to inquire whether the change is wrought by instalments as the words are successively pronounced" (*Utrum hoc pedetentim fiat, ut verba dicuntur, quaerere aut disquirere supervacaneum est*). Only this much a sound

¹ There were, however, a good many, like Peter Lombard, Hugh of St. Victor, etc., who say nothing, or else speak very vaguely, about the form of the Eucharist.

² J. F. von Schulte considers that the *Summa* of Stephen of Tournai was compiled before 1159; but cf. Singer, *Die Summa Decretorum des Magister Rufinus*, p. cxvi, and Gillmann in *Der Katholik*, xxxviii (1908), p. 418, n.

faith believes and proclaims that when all these words have been spoken complete transsubstantiation has surely taken place.³

How long the discussion continued is not quite clear. Everything points to the conclusion that it was in the theological schools of Paris, which at that period was the center of the intellectual life of the Church, that the dispute not only originated but developed and was finally decided. We may assume that the treatise of Lotario Conti (Pope Innocent III), *De sacro altaris Mysterio*, was written before his election to the papacy and probably while he was still resident in Paris, i. e., before 1187, but in this he gives proof of a certain deference for the opinion of those who maintained that transsubstantiation took place in both species simultaneously and only when all the words had been completed. Personally he held the view that the Body of Christ was present immediately the words *Hoc est corpus meum* were spoken, but he concluded that it was unsafe to act upon this presumption. Accordingly he decided that if the priest after completing the first consecration fell ill and was unable to continue the Mass, another priest should take his place but should repeat the whole of the canon with a new host, the host already consecrated being reverently preserved until it could be consumed. Similarly he implies that a like course should be followed for precaution's sake if the priest found that the chalice was empty or that some liquid had been used which was not wine. It was not sufficient, he thought, to pour in wine and to repeat only the second consecration. The priest ought to take a new host and begin again after the words *Te igitur* which follow after the preface.⁴ Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Gemma ecclesiastica*, written about the year 1199, speaks in the same sense, but in contrast to Innocent III, he seems to be thoroughly persuaded that his old professor, Peter Comestor, the chancellor of Paris, who strongly maintained that no transsubstantiation occurred until the words of consecration had been pronounced over both elements, was justified in the view he took.⁵

I pass over several others such as Sicardus of Cremona and Peter of Poitiers, who refer to the same controversy.⁶ Most of them seem to speak with a certain amount of doubt, and it is noteworthy that a measure of hesitation still betrays itself even in Caesarius of Heister-

³ J. F. von Schulte, *Die Summa des Stephanus Tornacensis*, p. 273.

⁴ See Migue, P. L. ccxvii, 858, 859, 868, 872, 873, and cf. also ccxiv. 1118-1122.

⁵ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera* (Rolls Series) II, pp. 27-28, and 124-125.

⁶ See e. g. Gillmann in *Der Katholik*, Vol. xxxviii (1908), 421-423.

bach, the Cistercian, whose *Dialogus* was probably not given to the world before 1220 or thereabouts. He represents a novice as asking what the position would be if after the consecration of the bread it were found that owing to some negligence there was no wine in the chalice. His instructor replies:

"The custom-book of our Order requires us to believe that the Body of Christ is present all the same; for we are directed in such a case not to repeat the consecration of the bread but only of the chalice. I should answer in the same way if the priest were to fall ill after pronouncing the words *Hoc est corpus meum* and were unable to complete the consecration of the chalice. Master Peter the Chanter⁷ and his followers will not allow this, but they maintain that the transubstantiation of the bread into the Body of Christ cannot take place until the words *Hic est sanguis*, etc., have also been uttered. But both the words of the Gospel and many of the doctors in their writings seem to contradict this view."⁸

This is a clear decision which was no doubt adopted by the Cistercians in deference to a well-known letter written by St. Bernard, the glory of their Order.⁹ Caesarius goes on to support his contention both by reasoning and by an appeal to the vision of a certain monk named Godescale who saw the sacred Host transformed into a beautiful infant immediately after the consecration of the bread, and before the consecration of the chalice had been begun. It is probable, however, that those who were of the same way of thinking as the Cistercians and were keen in their advocacy of this view, would not have been content with a mere abstract expression of opinion upon the course to be followed in an emergency which happily could hardly ever arise. That this was, in fact, the case we learn from Caesarius himself, who in a fragmentary work, *Libri Octo Miraculorum*, has left us an account of another miraculous vision. There was a holy woman, he says, at Villers near Gembloux in Brabant, who, among many other similar experiences, saw on one occasion the priest at Mass assisted by two angels. When the priest laid the Host

⁷ Does Caesarius really mean Peter the Chanter, or is he thinking of Peter Comestor or Manducator? I know no reason for supposing that the Chanter did not share the view undoubtedly held by the latter. Both were teaching in Paris at the same time.

⁸ Caesarius, *Dialogus*, Bk. ix, ch. 27.

⁹ Migne, P. L. clxxxii, 181. The case of a Mass celebrated with an empty chalice had actually occurred. St. Bernard, in accord with the rubrics of the present Roman missal, decided that it was not necessary to repeat the consecration over the Host.

down upon the altar again after holding it before his breast to consecrate it, the two angels bowed their heads and raised their hands, adoring with the utmost reverence. Then Caesarius goes on:

“With these angels (he says) those priests are in full agreement who adore the Host in laying it down, believing that the Body of Christ is there. Master Stephen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is acknowledged in point of learning to be second to no theologian of our times, has the same custom. When he was asked by the Lord Henry, our Abbot, whether transsubstantiation took place immediately after the words *Hoc est corpus meum*, he replied: ‘This I believe and this I will retain till death and so when I lay down the Host I reverently adore it.’ I have mentioned the story here (Caesarius goes on) for the benefit of some who, pertinaciously adhering to certain writings of Master Peter the Chanter, declare that the bread is not transsubstantiated until the consecration of the chalice is completed. Such an idea seems altogether ridiculous and contrary to the custom of Holy Church which at the elevation of the Host falls prostrate and adores. I remember speaking at some length on this point in my *Dialogus*.”¹⁰

The Archbishop of Canterbury here referred to is, of course, the famous Cardinal Stephen Langton, whose name is so intimately associated in history with the *Magna Charta* extorted from King John. Langton also had taught with great renown in Paris and he was the personal friend of Pope Innocent III. It will be noticed that the Archbishop, supposing his words to have been correctly reported, does not say that he elevated the Host to show it to the people that they might adore; he only speaks of a private act of devotion which may even have been unattended by any external gesture of reverence (*cum depono supplexillam adoro*). On the other hand Caesarius, writing presumably about 1230 or later,¹¹ refers to “the custom of Holy Church which at the elevation of the Host falls prostrate and adores.” This certainly seems to suppose the existence of an elevation such as that with which we are now familiar, and there is some evidence that the practice was introduced among the Cistercians in 1215. Further it is possible and even probable that in their private Masses priests often acted upon their own initiative, adopting cere-

¹⁰ Meister, “Die Fragmente der Libri viii Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach,” a supplement to the *Römische Quartalschrift* for 1901, pp. 16-17.

¹¹ In the *Tablet*, Oct. 26, 1907, I was inclined to infer that Langton was still living when Caesarius compiled this work, but I am now of the opinion that this is improbable.

monial novelties which appealed to their devotion and which they had perhaps witnessed in other churches.

However this may be, Archbishop Langton's words undoubtedly attest the existence of a desire to emphasize belief in the presence of the Body of Christ upon the altar as soon as the *Hoc est corpus meum* was spoken. The very fact that the teaching was contested would be of itself a provocation seeming to call for some outward expression of faith as a protest. Nor can we fail to be struck by the circumstance that it was precisely in the diocese of Paris where this question had been most keenly debated that we find the first explicit injunction to elevate the Host so that it may be shown to the people. The wording of the decree, which belongs to the episcopate of Eudes de Sully (1196-1208), though we do not know the exact year, is most significant.

"It is enjoined (so runs the ordinance) upon priests that when in the canon of the Mass they begin to say *Qui pridie*, holding the Host in their hands, they must not at once lift it too high so that it can be seen by all the congregation, but they must detain it, so to speak, before their breasts until they have said the words *Hoc est corpus meum*, and then let them elevate it so that it can be seen by all."¹²

That this decree is not a mere interpolation seems to be demonstrated by other ordinances of a somewhat later date. Caesarius, who, as a contemporary, a near neighbor and a Cistercian, must surely have been well informed, tells us quite definitely that Guido, also a Cistercian but promoted to be a Cardinal and Bishop of Praeneste, coming as legate of the Holy See to Cologne, "instituted an excellent practice in that city; for he enjoined that at the elevation of the Host the whole people should prostrate themselves at the sound of a bell and remain in that position until the consecration of the chalice." This was in July, 1201.¹⁴ The wording seems rather to imply that some sort of an "elevation was practiced already, but as Caesarius uses the same term to describe that lifting of the bread from the altar which occurred when the priest took the Host into his hands to consecrate it,¹⁵ we ought not perhaps to press the point. Again there is explicit reference to an elevation of some sort in certain letters of Pope Honorius III, a portion of which was afterwards included in the *Corpus Juris*. "Let every priest," the Pope wrote

¹² Mansi, *Concilia*, xxii, 682.

¹³ Caesarius, *Dialogus*, Bk. ix, ch. 51.

¹⁴ See Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, xi, 179 and references there given.

¹⁵ *Dialogus*, Bk. ix, ch. 33.

in 1219, "instruct his people frequently that when the saving Host is elevated in the celebration of Mass everyone ought reverently to bow down and that they should do the same when it is carried to the sick."¹⁶

Another interesting ordinance which is constantly cited in the same connection and dated 1208 (?) enjoins that "in the celebration of Mass when the Body of Christ is elevated, at the moment of the elevation or a little before, the bell should be tolled, as has been elsewhere laid down, that in this way the minds of the faithful may be roused to prayer."¹⁷ Unfortunately this decree cannot possibly be assigned to an earlier date than 1221, and may be much later, for it emanated from "William, Bishop of Paris" and there was no William Bishop of Paris in 1208.

It is more than probable, as has already been said, that the lifting up of the host in order to consecrate it was at first very imperfectly distinguished from the raising it above the priest's head on purpose to enable the people to behold and adore. With us the two acts are separated by a genuflexion, but in the thirteenth century and for long afterwards no such genuflexion was either prescribed or practiced. When the Host was consecrated the priest replaced it on the altar and at once went on to the *Simili modo postquam coenatum est*, but it requires no effort of the imagination to realize that some priests who firmly held to the belief that the Body of Christ was already present would delay a little in laying it down and would possibly raise it higher, even if it were only to gratify their own devotion by paying it some interior act of reverence. Two stories of eucharistic miracles are very suggestive in this connexion. The first is told of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, and belongs to the year 1195. His chaplain informs us how, when he was saying Mass—"and had come to the place where it is customary to lift the Host and bless it (*ubi elevatum in altum hostiam benedicere moris est*) before uttering that mystical consecration which a moment after converts the Host into the Body of Christ, the divine clemency vouchsafed to open the eyes of a certain cleric who was present and showed him His anointed one under the form of a tiny infant that was being with all reverence handled by the most pure fingers of the holy bishop."¹⁸

¹⁶ *Hozy*, Honorii, III Opera, Vol. III, 351, 355.

¹⁷ Mansi, *Concilia*, xxii, 768. Drury (*The Elevation*, p. 104) and others have carelessly followed the date given in Mansi's headline.

¹⁸ *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (Rolls Series), p. 236 and cf. pp. 240, 241 and 362.

Elevation in the proper sense there was none, as the context shows. The cleric, kneeling behind, could see the Host only when it was lifted above the table of the altar; but when this happened a second time in making the crosses over the chalice, at what is sometimes called the little elevation, the cleric once more saw the divine infant in the hands of the holy bishop as before.

To the other story, which is told by Caesarius of Heisterbach, I have already alluded. A certain religious maiden, named Richmudis, standing behind the priest at Mass, "saw the Host at the elevation as full of light and as transparent as if it were illumined by the sun's rays. Still, I fancy," Caesarius adds to our surprise, "that transsubstantiation had not yet taken place." Evidently he is thinking, though he uses the words *in elevatione*, only of that lifting up from the surface of the altar which precedes the utterance of the words *Hoc est corpus meum*. And the novice, to whom this story is recounted, emphasizes the fact by remarking, "If there was so much light in bread which, as you suppose, had not yet been blessed, I imagine that there must be great glory in the Body of the Lord itself."¹⁹

Under these circumstances the decree of Eudes de Sully, which leaves no room for ambiguity, is particularly valuable. The Host in his idea was not to be made visible until after the words *Hoc est corpus meum* had been spoken, but after that it was to be elevated so that all would see it. What lends additional point to this decree is the occurrence in the same set of canons of another ordinance which is strongly suggestive of a deliberate protest against the teaching of Peter Comestor and his followers. The clause runs as follows:

"If through negligence it should happen that after the recital of the canon and the completion of the consecration, the chalice is found to contain neither wine nor water, both ought at once to be poured in and the priest shall repeat the consecration, beginning with those words of the canon, *Simili modo postquam coenatum est*, down to the end, omitting only the two crosses which he has made separately over the bread alone."²⁰

Clearly Eudes wishes to lay stress upon the teaching, espoused more than fifty years earlier by St. Bernard, that even in the absence of the wine, the bread had been validly consecrated, so that that consecration must not be reiterated. And here we come to a valuable piece of new evidence which throws light upon the influence of the

¹⁹ Caesarius, *Dialogus*, ix, 33.

²⁰ Mansi, *Concilia*, xxii, 682.

Paris decree in determining the practice of other countries. In the year 1915 the Rev. R. M. Woolley published from a manuscript in the Lincoln Chapter Library a set of constitutions for the diocese of London which were previously unknown. There seems good reason to think that they belong, as he infers, to the period 1215-1222, intervening between the fourth council of Lateran and the provincial council of Oxford, presided over by Cardinal Stephen Langton. As Dr. Woolley pointed out, they present many points of close resemblance with the constitutions attributed to Bishop Richard Poore at Salisbury and Durham, but what the editor did not notice is that a number of sections which do not appear in Poore reproduce almost word for word the enactments of Eudes de Sully at Paris.²¹ This is not the place to discuss the matter in detail, but I may point out that the decision regarding the case of the empty chalice which has just been quoted reappears with hardly any alteration in the constitutions of London. The enactment of Eudes, however, which most directly concerns us here is that regarding the elevation. In this case the Paris text is not exactly reproduced though it must evidently have been before the eyes of the later compiler. The section in the London constitutions runs as follows: "Let priests beware of raising the Host on high, but let them take care *to hold it before their breast*, until they have pronounced the words *Hoc est corpus meum*, for fear lest if they lifted it up too soon the bystanders might adore the thing

²¹ As a conveniently short example I may notice the ordinance of Eudes de Sully, which says: "*In pulchriore parte altaris cum summa diligentia et honestate sub clave sacrosanctum corpus Domini custodiatur.*" This peculiar wording is reproduced with a slight inversion of order by the *Constitutiones Londinenses*, but I can find no other English decree of the same nature which in any way resembles it. The same is true of another curious injunction concerning the vessels for taking communion to the sick: "*Calices quibus infirmi communicantur, decorantur et mundi custodiantur, ut devotius communicent infirmi.*" The *Londinenses* repeat this in the form, "*Praecipimus ut calices quibus infirmi communicantur decorantur et mundi custodiantur ut devocius communicent egrotantes.*" One might almost suppose that communion was taken to the sick in both kinds, but I do not think that this was meant. One vessel was the pyx in which the Host was brought, the other was the vessel in which an ablution of *wine and water* was given to the sick man. Again in the instructions given regarding the ceremony to be followed in taking Holy Viaticum to the sick the *Constitutiones Londinenses* have copied Eudes de Sully almost word for word, but the other English decrees referring to the same topic are quite different in form. That the practice of Paris should have been closely followed in so important a diocese as that of London seems a matter of considerable interest and importance which must excuse the length of this note.

created instead of the Creator.²² This does not, like the Paris decree, enjoin the priest to lift up the Host when it has been consecrated so that it can be seen by the people, but it seems to me to be intended to leave him at liberty, *after* the words of consecration have been spoken, to elevate it or not according as local custom or his own devotion might prompt him. A similar direction not to elevate the Host before *Hoc est corpus meum* appears in a Scotch council of 1225²³ and seemingly also in a council at Trier in 1227.²⁴ But if the canons which directly enjoin the showing the Host to the people are of extremely rare occurrence, this must be, I think, because the practice, spreading from Paris and fostered by the usage of the Cistercians, came very early in the thirteenth century to prevail universally. There was no need to prescribe it but only to check abuses and to recommend such helpful observances as the use of a bell.

Once, however, the elevation in our modern sense, i. e., the showing of the Sacred Host to the people, had been introduced as part of the ritual of the Mass, the corresponding desire on the part of the faithful to behold the Body of our Lord seems to have spread with a vehemence and a rapidity which it would be difficult to exaggerate. It cannot, I am afraid, be said that this devotional movement, though begun in a true spirit of faith and piety, was edifying in all its developments. It was not very long before the hearing of Mass for the more ignorant and less spiritually-minded part of the laity came to mean little more than the seeing of the Sacred Host at the moment of the elevation. They did not, in fact, speak of going to Church to hear Mass. They went to gaze upon the *Corpus Domini*, and once this object had been achieved they made no scruple, at any rate on week-days, about coming away at once, leaving the priest to complete the rite in an almost empty church. The evidence which proves the immense importance attached to the act of beholding the Body of our Lord is far too voluminous to indicate even in outline, and some of it is quite early. The date of that remarkable English treatise, the *Ancren Riwe* (Rule for Anchoresses) is much disputed. No one,

²² As I have translated a little freely I quote the Latin: "Caveant sibi sacerdotes ne elevent hostiam sed caute teneant eam ante pectus suum quousque protulerint hec verba 'Hoc est corpus meum' quia si forte prius elevarent, circumstantes potius creaturam adorarent quam creatorem." *English Historical Review*, xxx (1915), p. 293, ch. 39.

²³ Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 615, and cf. Bishop Cantelupe at Worcester, who enjoins the ringing of a little bell. Wilkins, I, 667.

²⁴ Hartzheim, *Concilia Germaniae*, III, 527, "hostia ante transsubstantiationem non elevetur ad populum."

however, would put it later than 1235, while the more sober and independent critics are disposed to assign the original draft to about 1210 at latest. Now in this book we have at least four distinct references to the elevation of the Host, some of them evincing deep spiritual feeling. In resisting temptations, says the writer to his anchoresses, think of our Lord's example—"Ye have with you, night and day, the same Blood and the same blessed Body that came of the maiden and died on the cross; there is only a wall intervening, and every day He cometh forth and showeth Himself to you fleshly and bodily in the Mass—shrouded indeed in another semblance, under the form of bread. For in His own form, our eyes could not bear the bright vision. And He showeth Himself to you thus; as if He said, "Behold, I am here; what would ye? Tell me what you greatly desire, of what you are in want. Complain to me of your distress."'²⁵ So again a few pages further on the writer says: "Believe firmly that all the power of the devil melteth away through the grace of the Blessed Sacrament, highest above all, which ye see as often as the priest saith Mass and consecrateth that Virgin's child, Jesus, the Son of God, who sometimes descendeth bodily to your inn and humbly taketh his lodging within you."'²⁶

When we remember that the anchoresses saw into the church only through a window in their cells looking on to the altar, it is difficult to suppose that the writer has any other elevation in mind except that in which the priest raises the Host above his head to show it to the people.²⁷ Unfortunately not all the references to the popular eagerness to behold the Body of Christ are as edifying as this. A curious example occurs in the Life of Blessed Pietro Pettinajo of Siena who lived in the thirteenth century. His contemporary biographer tells the story of a certain Minor who, having received an insult, was determined to kill the author of the outrage. Full of this purpose, as it was yet early in the morning he entered the Church of San Francesco "to see the Body of Christ elevated and to commend himself thereto" before he set out to find his enemy. There Blessed Peter chanced to meet him, read what was in his heart and happily persuaded him to forego his vengeance.²⁸ Even cloistered

²⁵ *Ancren Riwe* (Morton's translation), p. 263.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 269, "The holi sacrament heixt over alle othre that ye iseoth are oftease the preost messeth." I have translated literally as Morton's rendering is here a little free.

²⁷ I consequently withdraw a suggestion previously made in the *London Tablet* (Nov. 2, 1907), which was written too hastily.

²⁸ P. de Montarone, *Vita del B. Pietro Pettinajo* (1802), pp. 61-62.

nuns, though absorbed in deep contemplation, thought it a duty when Mass was being said close at hand to interrupt their prayer and change their position in order to see the Body of Christ when it was elevated. We possess a copy of the evidence which was given in the process of beatification of Blessed Margaret of Hungary who died in 1270. One after another her fellow nuns describe how she would pray for hours together hidden from view in a corner of the choir, so that none of them could see her, except that when a private Mass was being said in the Church, she would leave her place when the elevation came, in order to be able to look upon the Host. So, too, on Communion days she remained out of her proper order holding the Communion cloth, and when they asked her why she did so, she answered that she would thus feast her eyes the longer with the sight of the Body of Christ.²⁹ But Margaret of Hungary was only an early example of many other mystics who were animated with the same devout longing to gaze upon the sacramental veil which shrouded the bodily presence of their heavenly spouse. The most remarkable of all was Blessed Dorothea, the Prussian recluse, of whom I have written elsewhere more at large.³⁰

On the other hand in the case of the more ignorant laity it is difficult to decide in what measure devotion, and in what measure superstition, contributed to the extravagances which were associated with this keen desire of witnessing the elevation. We hear of a great uproar in churches when the people were climbing onto the benches to get a better view or rushing from one altar to another as the moment of the elevation was reached. We hear of those who could not see shouting to the priest to lift the Host up higher. We hear of priests so far condescending to the popular clamour as to hold the Blessed Sacrament in the air for many minutes, turning it this way and that, or else straining themselves to stand on tip-toe until they were in danger of losing their balance. It is certain that in many churches in England, France and Spain a black cloth was stretched across the altar just before the elevation in order that the white circle of the Host when the priest raised it on high might stand out more clearly against the dark background. There is also good reason to believe that the tall candle which the miniatures in medieval manuscripts constantly depict in the hands of the server as he kneels behind the priest at the moment of the elevation, was there for no other reason than to throw light on the Host when it was lifted up.

²⁹ Faknoi, *Monumenta Episcopatus Vespriniensis*, I, pp. 3, 13, 21, 49, 93, etc.

³⁰ *The Month*, July, 1901.

The procession of torchbearers which at High Mass enters the sanctuary to be in their places in time before the consecration begins had most probably no other purpose. We even find traces of directions given to the thurifer that he should so place himself that the cloud of fragrant smoke may not intercept the view of the Body of Christ. The bells so familiar to us at the *Sanctus* and the *Hanc igitur* were avowedly rung to give warning of the solemn moment, and many bishops gave directions that one of the great bells should be tolled when the Host was raised on high in order that those working in the fields might for a moment raise their hearts to God while the great mystery was being enacted.

One permanent memorial of this same strange concentration upon the beholding of our Lord's Body survives to this day in numberless old parish churches in England and also in some others in Scandinavia and elsewhere. This mostly takes the form of an exceptionally low window in the side wall of the chancel, which "low-side-window," as existing remains often prove, was originally provided with a shutter which was bolted on the inside. For a hundred years in modern times these low-side-windows remained an archaeological mystery, but it has now been clearly demonstrated that, beginning already in the thirteenth century, they were constructed for no other purpose than to enable the server, as the time of the elevation drew near, to put his hand through the wall and give warning by ringing a little bell to the crowd of loiterers who stood gossiping in the church-yard outside. This enabled them to crowd into the church in time to witness the lifting up of the Body of Christ. In many fourteenth and fifteenth century churches the bell-cots over the chancel which contained a medium-sized bell called a "Sance bell" (i. e., *Sanctus* bell) with a rope hanging within reach of the server, were only a more elaborate expedient intended to serve the same purpose. Not less remarkable was the fact that in the fifteenth century at such a college as that of Eton, when the bell gave warning of the approach of the elevation, all the scholars and the choristers were to "enter the church and there devoutly falling upon their knees were to adore the Body of Christ." They said the versicle, *Adoremus Te, Christe, et benedicimus Tibi*, added a few prayers for their royal founder and then returned to their books, obviously without waiting for the conclusion of Mass or even for the priest to reach the communion.³¹ It was the "*sacring*," i. e., in practice the elevation, which they came for, and it would seem that quite devout people then believed that

³¹ Heywood and Wright, *Statutes of King's College and Eton*, p. 554.

by merely seeing the Body of Christ they had fulfilled all justice. Very significant also is a clause in the constitutions of the Bridgettine nuns of Sion at the same period: "When the convent is at any conventual act none shall presume of her own head to go out *to see any sacring* at any altar . . . for God loveth more to be worshipped and seen with the eyes of the soul than with the eyes of the body."³²

It is difficult to determine what were the causes which brought about this extraordinary eagerness to look upon the Body of Christ. Without in any way wishing to exclude the influence of a genuine instinct of piety, we must not, I think, lose sight of the fact that at the beginning of the thirteenth century this showing of the Sacred Host to the people was a novelty, and a rather dramatic novelty. Previously the congregation never had an opportunity, practically speaking, of fixing their eyes upon the sacramental veils. Even though the priest raised the Host from the altar and held it in his hands before blessing it and consecrating it, he never lifted it above his head. It would be quite invisible to the bulk of the laity who knelt behind him. Moreover at that period the occasions when communion was given to the people were extremely few. But now when the Host was held up for them to see and they were exhorted to kneel and adore it, the idea must almost inevitably have suggested itself that there was some quasi-sacramental virtue in the act. Very soon, one knows not how, there grew up an extravagant expectation of definite and very material blessings which belonged of right to those who had seen the Body of Christ when it was elevated in the morning's Mass. Quite without foundation long lists of promises were made out and attributed to the most eminent Fathers of the Church. All over Europe these "Virtues of the Mass" were commemorated in popular rhymes, all very, very much alike in the character of the promises made. Even so sober and respectable an authority as John Myre in his *Instructions to Parish Priests* does not scruple to encourage the clergy to preach these things to their people. He says, for example—I modernize the spelling—

For glad may that man be
That once in the day may Him see;
For so mickle good does that sight,
As St. Austin teacheth aright,
That that day thou seest God's Body
These benefits shalt thou have securely,—³³

³² *History of Sion*, p. 329.

³³ Myre, *Instructions to Parish Priests* (E. E. T. S.), ll. 312-315.

and Myre goes on to tell them that the man who in the morning has looked upon the Host at the elevation may be sure that he will not lack food that day, that he will be forgiven his idle words and oaths, that he will not meet with sudden death or blindness and also that every step which he took in going to Church "that holy sight for to see," would be counted up and remembered in his favor in the hour of need. But this is a very moderate list of favors when we compare it with what is commonly found in similar documents of the same period.

But there is also another influence which, as it seems to me, cannot be quite ignored. Just at the very time that the theological dispute about the precise moment of consecration was being settled and the elevation of the Host was being introduced, a certain group of romances which centered round that very elusive topic, the Holy Grail, were becoming extremely popular. I have no space to embark upon this tangled problem here. It seems certain that the nucleus of the Grail idea was pagan, but efforts were made by many exponents of the theme to christianize it. It may also possibly be that the very popularity of the Grail motif was due to the fact that it lent itself to an eucharistic coloring. The puzzling fact is that the bulk of the Grail literature seems to be somewhat earlier in date than any general prevalence of the elevation of the Host. Be this as it may, we find in some of even the earlier settings of the Grail theme, the same idea of the privileged condition of him whose guest had been rewarded by the sight of the Grail. In the *Parsival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach, which was written about 1210, we learn that no man who has seen the Grail can die within eight days and that its possessor is rewarded with the gift of perpetual youth, while Wanchier de Denain, who wrote still earlier, promises that he who has seen it will have grace during that day to triumph over all the snares of the devil; such promises being largely developed by later manipulation of the same materials. Whether as cause or effect we cannot altogether ignore the popularity of the Grail romances when discussing the great Eucharistic movement which, as I conceive, took its rise in the twelfth century dispute among the theologians of Paris. Of this movement the most important fruits were of course the institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi, the exposition and processions of the Blessed Sacrament, the Quarant' Ore and the familiar Benediction Service of our own days. But of these matters, I have left myself no room to speak.

THE PROGRAM OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH EUCCHARISTIC CONGRESS

It is the tradition of the Eucharistic Congress that nothing that might detract from the profound spiritual purpose of the gathering is to be tolerated. Hence it is that, in the preparations for the ceremonies and the meetings great care is exercised in order that the high purpose of the Congress be maintained. The Permanent Committee of the International Eucharistic Congress, with its headquarters office at Paris, and over whose deliberations the distinguished Bishop Heylen, of Namur, presides, passes upon all phases of the Congress program and plans, and its sanction must be secured before any definite arrangements for the Congress program may be made and approved.

When the Congress at Chicago was first announced great numbers of well-meaning persons sought permission to address its assemblies upon some particular phase of Catholic activity or need or opportunity. Important questions involving the welfare and advancement of the Church in the United States, and elsewhere, were suggested for discussion and plans submitted for conferences to deal with these various problems among the Congress visitors. But, in every case, the requests had to be put aside under the tradition and ruling of the Permanent Committee that nothing not pertinently a part of the Congress program, could be allowed.

This does not mean, however, that meetings, conventions, assemblies, etc., of Catholic organizations may not be gathered together from among those in attendance upon the Congress sessions. On the contrary a number of organizations, from both the United States and Canada, have planned to hold their annual, or bi-annual, national, or international meetings, in Chicago this year in June. The restriction placed upon such groups urges that these extraneous discussions be held either preceding the formal Congress sessions or immediately following. As a result a goodly number of societies will hold their annual conventions this year either in the city of Chicago or in cities and towns nearby.

A case in point has to do with the annual meeting of the famous *Central Verein*, that fine, old group of American Catholics of German extraction. This society has announced its annual convention to be held at Springfield, Illinois, immediately following the close of the Eucharistic Congress sessions at Chicago. It has been indicated, in

this connection, that not a few of the distinguished prelates, and others, who will come to Chicago for the Congress will, likewise, journey to Springfield for the *Central Verein* assembly.

The Catholic Students' Mission Crusade will hold its bi-annual meeting immediately after the Congress at Dayton, Ohio. So, too, with the meeting of the Catholic Educational Association and a number of the larger Catholic organizations. Conventions or national assemblies will be held either preceding or following the great gathering in Chicago. In this fashion large numbers of Catholics will be able to attend the Eucharistic Congress and, at the same time, participate in the deliberations of a national convention.

But, in the preparation of the program for the International Eucharistic Congress great care is exercised to adhere strictly to the formal Congress program. The practice is to have the general subject of discussion at the Congress selected by Our Holy Father and then a number of sub-titles, or divisions, of the general subject are submitted by a competent authority and approved by the Permanent Committee. This done, these sub-titles, or specific phases of the general subject, are assigned to outstanding scholars, students and men of letters in all parts of the world.

In these discussions it is aimed to encourage original thought and study regarding the Holy Eucharist and thus to promote a greater and a more widespread devotion. Indeed, it is the conviction of many who have watched the growth of the Eucharistic Congress movement that much of the increase in recent years in devotion to the Eucharist, in the more frequent reception of Holy Communion among the Faithful and in the increased popularity of such devotions as "Nocturnal Adoration," the "Holy Hour" and like exercises, is due in a very great measure to these Eucharistic Congresses. It has been put forth that the inspiration for many of these movements which have left so profound an impression upon our day came with, and from, these Eucharistic Congress deliberations and discussions.

For the XXVIII International Eucharistic Congress the general subject selected by Pius XI for discussion is "The Eucharist and Christian Life." The subjects for the general assemblies of the Congress were prepared by the eminent Jesuit Theologian, Father de la Taille and are as follows:

Christian Life hallowed at its outset by the Eucharist:

"FIRST HOLY COMMUNION."

Christian Life perfected in its last hour by the Eucharist:

“THE VIATICUM.”

Christian Life maintained in the course of our earthly Pilgrimage by the Eucharist:

“THE SACRAMENT OF PERSEVERANCE.”

Life of Prayer nourished by the Word of God and the Eucharist:

“SACRAMENT OF UNION WITH GOD.”

Life of Charitable and Apostolic Work prompted by the Eucharist:

“SACRAMENT OF FRATERNAL CHARITY.”

Life of Mortification, both Internal and External, in view of the Eucharist:

“SACRAMENT OF ETERNAL LIFE AND RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH.”

Christian Life enriched by intelligent participation in the rites of the Eucharistic Liturgy:

“ASSISTANCE AT HIGH MASS.”

Christian Life centering round the Tabernacle in silent intimacy with Christ:

“VISITS TO THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.”

Christian Life restored in its fulness by the Banquet set before the Penitent:

“RETURN TO THE HOLY TABLE.”

Christian Life bearing fruit through the Oblation of the Eucharistic Sacrifice:

“THE OFFERING OF MASSES FOR THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.”

Christian Life comforted by Eucharistic Communion with the sorrows of the Passion:

“SACRAMENT OF RESIGNATION.”

Christian Life transfigured by Eucharistic Communion with the joys of Resurrection:

“SACRAMENT OF PEACE.”

Christian Life perpetuated by the Sacrament of Holy Orders instituted with a view to the Eucharist:

“THE EUCHARIST AS AN INCENTIVE TO PRIESTLY DEVOTIONS.”

Christian Life in the home, with its principle of stability and happiness in the Eucharist:

“FAMILY COMMUNION.”

Christian Life spreading its benefit throughout the Commonwealth by the virtues of self-denial and self-sacrifice:

“THE EUCHARIST, A FACTOR OF NATURAL LIFE.”

At this writing no definite statement may be made regarding those who have been called upon to prepare the papers dealing with these various subjects. It may be mentioned, however, that all four American Cardinals will address the Congress gatherings together with Cardinals from Ireland, England, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Spain and Italy. In addition to these a number of the members of both the American and Canadian Hierarchies will deliver certain of the orations and a group of outstanding laymen will likewise participate in the discussions. It is not unlikely that, in addition to its many interesting activities, the Congress to be held in Chicago next June will show forth a noteworthy group of distinguished orators, the like of which is but rarely seen on the public platform anywhere.

The *unofficial* program of the Congress will get under way upon the arrival of the Papal Legate and his entourage, in Chicago, on Thursday, June 17. It is planned to greet the Legate at the railroad station at Chicago and escort him to the residence of Cardinal Mundelein on North State Parkway.

On Friday night, June 18, a civic greeting will be extended to the Legate and the distinguished visitors at a meeting to be held in the Coliseum, Chicago's famous convention hall, which has been the scene of so many stirring events of recent years. Something like 15,000 persons may be crowded into this hall and it is planned to have the representatives of city, state and nation participate in this greeting. As now arranged, addresses of welcome will be made by the Mayor of Chicago, the Governor of Illinois and by the President of the United States, or his personal representative.

Saturday, June 19, will be given over to a sight-seeing tour of the city for the visiting Prelates and priests. An automobile tour of the city will be made by the clergy as the guests of the Congress Reception Committee, the line of progress being so arranged as to combine the attractiveness of Chicago from a religious as well as a civic viewpoint.

Saturday afternoon and evening will be set apart for the Confessions of the great crowds expected to participate in the gathering of the million Communions which Cardinal Mundelein, more than a year ago, promised Our Holy Father as a “spiritual bouquet” from the Congressists.

The formal and official program of the XXVIII International Eucharistic Congress will start on Sunday morning, June 20, with Solemn High Mass at day break in all the churches of the Archdiocese. Following this, at the Masses to be celebrated later in the morning, it is hoped to gather the million Communions.

At high noon on this same day the Papal Legate will be formally welcomed and installed. There will be a Solemn Pontifical Mass at the Cathedral of the Holy Name, at Superior and State Streets. This installation ceremony is distinctive of a Eucharistic Congress and will consist, in addition to the Pontifical Mass, of the reading of the Papal Brief delegating the Legate to serve, in the official welcome to him, his response, and the opening sermon of the Congress program.

Because of the meagre space available within the Cathedral it is hardly likely that any great numbers will be able to gain admission into the Cathedral. With the aid of the microphone and the "loud speakers," however, those on the outside of the building will be able to follow all that goes on within.

On this first Sunday night, the exercises of the Holy Hour will be held in all the churches in Chicago and vicinity. On this occasion it is planned to have one of the visiting bishops pontificate and preach the sermon. This will be followed by solemn Benediction.

On each of the mornings of Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday there will be the General Meeting of the Congress, at ten o'clock, in the Stadium, on the lake front. This is a huge, open-air structure capable of accommodating about 150,000 people *in seats*. Another hundred thousand may stand up outside the Stadium walls and participate in the deliberations. At these General Meetings there will be three, and possibly four, formal addresses, delivered by distinguished orators gathered from all parts of the world.

Upon the conclusion of the program of the General Meeting there will be, each day, a Solemn Pontifical Mass celebrated by one of the visiting Cardinals at which the sermon of the Mass will be preached by a distinguished ecclesiastic.

Each afternoon at three the Sectional Meetings of the Congress will be held. The English-speaking group will gather in the Coliseum, while the various foreign sectional meetings will be held in sixteen, or more, public halls, located in several parts of the city. At this writing sectional meetings have been arranged for the following foreign-language speaking people: Bohemian, Belgium-Holland, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish and Mexican. In addition to these there will be special

assemblies for Catholics of the Oriental Rite, the Ruthenian-Greek Rite, the Chaldean Rite, and the Syrian Rite.

At all the sectional meetings the various topics, under the general subject for discussion, will be dwelt upon by the speakers. Noteworthy foreign dignitaries as well as laymen will participate in the discussions. In the foreign-language sectional meetings the discussion and the orations will be held in a foreign tongue.

Again, in the evening, these sectional meetings will be held. In addition, on Monday afternoon, in the auditorium of the Municipal Pier, the special meeting for priests only will be convened. On this occasion the discussions will be carried on in Latin.

On Tuesday night a monster open-air Mass Meeting will be held in the Stadium for men only. This meeting will be staged under the direction of the Chicago unit of the Holy Name Society, one of the largest and most progressive units in the United States. There will be Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament at the conclusion of the meeting.

Monday has been dedicated as "Children's Day." At the Mass in the morning in the Stadium, 61,000 children, pupils from Chicago's parochial schools, will chant the simple "Mass of the Angels," the tenth-century classic, which is believed to be the work of St. Dunstan. Tuesday is to be known as "Women's Day" and Wednesday will be designated as "Higher Education Day," with the faculty and students of our high schools and colleges given the places of honor.

Thursday, the great out-door procession of the Blessed Eucharist, which is always the outstanding event of a Eucharistic Congress, will be held on the grounds of the Seminary of St. Mary-of-the-Lake, near to the little village of Mundelein, named in honor of Chicago's beloved Cardinal. The Seminary is located on the outskirts of the city and is reached by four high-speed railways. Here, within the grounds of St. Mary's, are more than 1,200 acres of rolling ground, well-watered and wooded with miles and miles of winding paths and roadways. A large natural lake lies in the center of the seminary grounds and it is along the shores of this lake that the Eucharistic procession will move.

As now tentatively arranged, Thursday's ceremonies at Mundelein will get under way with a Solemn Pontifical Mass in the open air at eleven o'clock. There will be a sermon by one of the Cardinals and, upon the completion of the Mass, the procession will be started.

For priests who plan to journey to Chicago and to participate in the Procession, it is urged that each endeavor to provide himself with an Alb and Dalmatic of any color other than black. These may be sent ahead to the Seminary, addressed to the *Chairman, Processions Committee, Mundelein, Ill.* It is important that the name of the priest who will claim these vestments and his address be clearly marked on both Alb and Dalmatic.

It is also suggested that the visiting clergy bring with them their own Amice and Purificator.

As is now known it is the wish of the Chicago clergy that as many of the out-of-town priests as can do so, arrange to come to Chicago a week, or at least a few days, before the opening of the Congress sessions proper. There will be great need for the services of priests to help out the local clergy with the Confessions and the Communion and the extra Masses which will be necessary to accommodate the great crowds that are expected in the city for the Congress. Those willing to volunteer for this service should communicate at once with their friends among the priests of Chicago or direct with the Headquarters' Committee of the Congress, *Cathedral Square, Chicago, Ill.*

While enormous numbers are expected in the city during the days of the Congress, no one should remain away in the fear that suitable accommodations may not be available for all. With the priests coming for the Congress it is planned to accommodate as many as possible in the rectories and convents of the city. If additional accommodations are needed, these will be provided in hotels and private homes. There will be no charge for the clergy in rectories, convents or private homes.

EUGENE WEARE.

INDULGENCES GRANTED ATTENDANTS AT THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

The announcement of indulgences to be granted the pilgrims to the twenty-eighth International Eucharistic Congress has been made by His Eminence, Cardinal Mundelein, Sponsor to the Congress.

The announcement contains a full list of the indulgences and privileges granted by His Holiness, Pius XI, in apostolic letters issued March 7, 1924. This document applies to all Eucharistic Congresses of international character, and supplements privileges and indulgences granted to pilgrims to such gatherings by preceding pontiffs.

THREE INDULGENCES TO BE GAINED

Among the different special privileges named in the letters are three principal indulgences: a plenary indulgence; an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines; and an indulgence of 100 days; all of which may be obtained subject to the conditions outlined as follows:

(1) Plenary indulgence and remission of all sin to all and each of the faithful:

(a) Who, during the Eucharistic Congress, being duly contrite after Confession and Holy Communion, visit devoutly any church or public chapel where the Congress is held, and there piously pray for concord among the Christian rulers, for the extirpation of heresies, the conversion of sinners and the exaltation of the Church and the Pope's intention;

(b) Who assist piously at the triumphal procession of the Eucharist, at the close of the Congress;

(c) Who piously receive the Apostolic Benediction granted at the close of the Congress.

(2) Seven years and seven quarantines in the customary form of the church to all and each of the faithful;

(a) Who at the time and in the place where the Congress is held pray a while (*aliquamdiu*) before the Blessed Sacrament solemnly exposed to public adoration;

(b) Who attend any of the devotions arranged by those in charge of the Congress or any session of the Congress.

(3) One hundred days to those who in the aforesaid time and place perform some work of religion as often as they do this in a spirit of penance.

OTHER SPECIAL PRIVILEGES GRANTED

In addition to these three principal indulgences, the apostolic letters further grant the following special privileges for the Eucharistic Congress:

(1) A Votive Mass of the Most Holy Sacrament, either a solemn High Mass or in the pontifical rite, is permitted, provided the rubrics and the prescriptions of the Sacred Canons are observed. It is to be sung at the time of each Eucharistic Congress, on a day to be lawfully prescribed by the Ordinary of the place, or with the consent of the same Ordinary by those in charge of the convention.

(2) The bishop who has carried out the above-mentioned sacred rites pontifically, or any of the other bishops present, is permitted to impart lawfully after the Solemn Mass (*servatis servandis*) the Apostolic Benediction, with a plenary indulgence added, to the Christian people present.

(3) Each of the priests at the same Congress, during the time and in the place of the Congress itself, is permitted to celebrate the Votive Mass of the Most Holy Sacrament (*ut pro re gravi, servatis servandis*).

(4) If, at the time of the Eucharistic Congress, the August Sacrament, as is the custom, should be exposed for public adoration throughout the night, it is permitted: First, that one Mass be said at midnight, during which all the faithful may approach the Holy Table; second, that the priests who are present at this nocturnal adoration may say Mass as soon as the first Mass just mentioned is over, or at the end of the first hour after midnight; third, that the clerics in the sacred orders and religious, who recite the canonical hours, being present at the nocturnal adoration, and while it lasts, may say the office of the Most Holy Sacrament instead of their own office.

(5) The Ordinaries, by using their right, may permit the priests who remain in the parishes to take the places of those absent, to say Mass twice on holy days of obligation; and the Ordinaries may give

these same priests permission to binate even on week days, if they judge it expedient in the Lord.

PILGRIMS DISPENSED FROM ABSTINENCE

(6) All those who attend any of the above-mentioned Eucharistic Congresses (i. e., international or national, regional or diocesan) are not held by the law of abstinence, and if it occurs, of fast, even during their journey. As to the people of the locality where the Congress is held, the Ordinary may make use of his right, according to the prescription of canon 1245 of the code of Canon Law.

(7) A Plenary Indulgence to be gained once only under the usual conditions described above to all the faithful all over the world, if it be an International Eucharistic Congress, who piously visit any church or public chapel from the day on which the Congress is publicly opened until its last day, inclusively, and while there pray to the Lord for the happy issue of the Congress.

(8) Three Hundred Days' Indulgence granted to the faithful who pray or perform some good work or who offer an alms for the Congress and for its prosperous success, even if the Congress is over and as often as they do this.

GEORGE CARDINAL MUNDELEIN

HISTORY OF EUCHARISTIC CONGRESSES

Eucharistic Congresses assemble the members of the hierarchy, clergy and laity of all nationalities for the purpose of promoting among the Faithful greater honor toward the Blessed Sacrament and to foster all manner of devotions to the Holy Eucharist in its two-fold aspect—as a Sacrament and as the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Eucharistic Congresses deal with the revealed mystery of the Holy Eucharist. A fair idea of the business transacted may be gathered from papers which were discussed at various Congresses: “Decree on Daily Communion;” “Works relating to the Holy Mass;” “Easter Communion;” “Frequent Communion among the Working Classes;” “Confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament;” “The Sacred Heart and the Holy Eucharist;” “Preparation for First Holy Communion;” “Frequent Communion among the Young in Schools, Seminaries, Colleges and Convents;” “Priests’ Eucharistic League;” “More Confession Days Offered to the Faithful;” “The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass;” “Holy Mass attendance on Sundays and Week Days;” “Visits to the Blessed Sacrament;” “Keeping the Churches open during the Day;” “History of the Eucharistic Worship;” “Age at which Children should be admitted to the Holy Table;” “Eucharistic Triduum;” “Benefits of Retreats and Missions;” “Sunday Observance;” “Perpetual Adoration,” etc.

The notable feature of all these Congresses is the Solemn Procession of the Blessed Sacrament.

The origin of International Eucharistic Congresses dates back to the year 1881. Twenty-seven Congresses have thus far been held. We give here a brief history of the various Congresses:

BEGINNING OF INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESSES

The International Eucharistic Congresses were initiated by a pious woman of France, Marie-Martha B. Tamisier. This woman was a native of Tours, where she was born November 1st, 1834. From her earliest childhood she practiced an extraordinary devotion to the Holy Eucharist and was accustomed to say that a day without Holy Communion was a veritable Good Friday. She made three unsuccessful attempts to enter a religious life. She was a personal friend of Blessed Peter Eymard, the Founder of the Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament.

In 1871 Marie Tamisier went to Ars to live near the Tomb of Saint John Vianney—the Cure of Ars. Coming under the direction

of Abbe Chevrier she found her true vocation in becoming active in the Eucharistic cause. Throughout France and beyond she spread the devotion by extensive correspondence and travel. She inaugurated pilgrimages to various sanctuaries where Eucharistic miracles had taken place. She was encouraged in this holy work by Monsignor Gaston de Segur and Monsignor Richard, the Bishop of Belley. Thus there were Eucharistic pilgrimages to Ars and Avignon in 1874; again in Avignon in 1876; to Faverney in 1878.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS AT LILLE,
FRANCE, IN 1881

The National Eucharistic pilgrimages became such a success that Mademoiselle Tamisier suggested that Catholics from other countries might meet together to do public homage to the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. Monsignor Ségur welcomed the proposal, and, with the assistance of two laymen, Philebert Vrau and Feron Vrau of Lille, she made the plans for the first International Eucharistic Congress, which convened at Lille, France, from June 28th to 30th. Msgr. Ségur, one of the founders of the Eucharistic movement, was expected to preside at the first International Eucharistic Congress, but he died in June, 1881—the very month in which the Congress convened, and his place was taken by Msgr. Monnier, Titular Bishop of Lydda, who acted as Chairman and presided over the three days' session.

Mademoiselle Tamisier was very active at the Lille and subsequent International Congresses, but her name was not publicly associated with the Congresses until after her death, which occurred June 20th, 1910. At the Lourdes Congress she was lovingly called the "Jeanne d' Arc of the Blessed Sacrament."

The Lille Congress was attended by French and Belgian Catholics which gave it its international character. The sessions were enthusiastic and memorable and all present were filled with the one thought, that future Congresses should be held in order to stir the public mind, to raise enthusiasm and to evoke a very outburst of love and loyalty to our Lord in the most Holy Eucharist, so that even our Protestant brethren might not be indifferent when brought face to face with the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence of our Divine Master on the Altar.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD AT AVIGNON, FRANCE, 1882

The Second International Eucharistic Congress convened at Avignon, France, September 13th to 17th, 1882. Avignon was no stranger to Eucharistic Congresses, for as early as 1874 and 1876 there were held in this ancient city of the Popes, National Eucharistic Pilgrimages, organized by Mdlle. Tamisier, the initiator of International Eucharistic Congresses. The city was, therefore, prepared for the reception of an International assembly and this fact caused its selection at the Lille Congress.

The selection of Avignon was also due to the fact that it had been the scene of a great Eucharistic miracle which had made it a popular place for Eucharistic pilgrimages by all lovers of the Blessed Sacrament. Cardinal Gaetano De Lai, who was Papal Legate at the Seventh National Italian Eucharistic Congress in Genoa in 1923, in his book, "The Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist," tells us this story:

"On the 14th of September, 1226, the Feast of the Holy Cross was being solemnly celebrated in Avignon, when suddenly the River Rhone overflowed and flooded the city. It was feared that the water would reach the Altar of the Blessed Sacrament in the Chapel of the Grey Penitents, where the Blessed Sacrament was exposed. When the first panic had subsided a few courageous men went to the church in a boat to save the Blessed Sacrament. When they entered the church, they found, to their great amazement, that the water had entered the church, but left the aisle leading to the Altar on which rested the Blessed Sacrament, surrounded by burning candles, untouched. In a short time, knowledge of the miracle spread and a number of boats were seen to move toward the church to see the miracle—among them that of King Louis VIII, who happened to be in Avignon at that time. In memory of this prodigy, daily exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, which, after seven centuries, is still carried on, was permanently established in this Chapel with the approbation of the Popes."

The Second International Eucharistic Congress was held under the direction of Most. Rev. Msgr. Harley, Archbishop of Avignon, who also presided. The attendance was large. Important papers pertaining to the Holy Eucharist and the Mass were read and discussed by eminent French and Belgian scholars. Pope Leo XIII sent his Apostolic Benediction. The Congress lasted five days and during these memorable days the clergy and the laity vied with one

another in a noble tribute of love and homage to the Blessed Sacrament, actuated by a desire to show the whole world how they gloried in the faith of Catholics and in their worship of Christ's Most Holy Body consecrated on our Altars.

During the days of the Congress there were found in the churches of Avignon, especially in the Chapel of the Grey Penitents, hundreds of men and women making visits to the Blessed Sacrament and the Congress was a triumph for the Catholics of France and a living proof to visitors from other countries who attended the Congress that the Catholic Church of France was still a power in that country.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS HELD AT LIEGE, BELGIUM, IN 1883

The Third International Eucharistic Congress convened at Liege, Belgium, in 1883. The Belgians' representation at the Congress held at Lille, France, led to the selection of Liege as the meeting place for the Third International Eucharistic Congress. June 5th was the opening day and thousands of people were attracted to the ancient city to take part in the ceremonies and Congress sessions.

Liege deserves to be called "The City of Corpus Christi," for this great feast in honor of the Blessed Sacrament was first celebrated by the Canons and Priests of St. Martin's at Liege in 1247, by order of Bishop Robert de Thorete of Liege. It was then only a feast for his diocese, for Bishops, in those days, had the right to order special feasts for their Dioceses. The instrument in the hand of Divine Providence responsible for the feast was St. Juliana, a religious of Liege, who was greatly devoted to the Blessed Sacrament from her infancy. She was led to this by certain visions which she had of the Church under the appearance of the full moon having a dark spot which signified the absence of a solemnity of the Holy Eucharist. She made known her vision and ideas to the Bishop of Liege, to the Dominican Friar, Hugh of Saint Cher, who later became Cardinal, and to Jacques Pantaleon, Archdeacon of Liege, who later became Pope Urban IV.

The Bishop of Liege approved her idea of a feast, but death prevented him from instituting it and it was left to the Dominican Friar, Hugh of Saint Cher, who became a Papal Legate at Liege, to make the feast in honor of the Holy Eucharist an obligation for Liege and his legatine jurisdiction in 1252.

When Jacques Pantaleon, Archdeacon of Liege, was elected Pope under the name of Urban IV he extended the feast all over the world

on September 8th, 1264, and had St. Thomas Aquinas to compose the Office of this feast, which is considered one of the most beautiful Offices in the Church.

Another Archdeacon of Liege, who became Pope, was Gregory X, under whose pontificate the Holy Name Society was canonically established in 1274.

During the Congress sessions papers on the practice of promoting devotion to the Blessed Sacrament were read and discussed and the Congress assumed the character of a mission or public retreat. His Grace, Archbishop Duquesnay of Cambray, President of the Eucharistic Committee, presided and the sessions were most interesting.

The Congress lasted six days and the closing on June 10th, 1883, was most imposing and brought home to all who attended the meaning and purposes of Eucharistic assemblies.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS HELD AT FRIBOURGH, SWITZERLAND, 1885

The Fourth International Eucharistic Congress was held at Fribourgh, Switzerland, September 9th to 13th, 1885. Fribourgh is now noted as the seat of a great Catholic University, fostered and encouraged by Pope Leo XIII. The Congress was presided over by Cardinal Mermellod, the Militant Bishop of Lausanne. The Cardinal was a great champion of Catholic education and was the co-founder of the Female Oblates of St. Francis de Sales at Troyas, who labored for the protection of poor working girls. Cardinal Mermellod was one of the great prelates of modern times. He founded, during the Eucharistic year of 1885, the Catholic Union for the study of social and economic questions.

The Congress was notable because practically all of the Cantons of Switzerland were represented by high officials of the Swiss Army and Government, who took part in the Eucharistic procession, together with thousands of Catholics from all parts of Europe. There were many French and Belgian Catholics in attendance, as well as representatives of other European Catholic organizations. The supremely expressive episode of the procession was the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament and the singing of the Benediction hymns by thousands of voices. The Congress was one of the most notable assemblies ever held, and as a result, the interest in future Congresses became widespread, not only among Catholics of France and Belgium and Switzerland, but among Catholics of other countries. At the concluding session it was voted to meet at Toulouse, France, the next year.

FIFTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS HELD AT
TOULOUSE, FRANCE, 1886

The Fifth International Eucharistic Congress was held in Toulouse, June 20th to 25th, 1886. Cardinal Julian Desprez, Archbishop of Toulouse, who was created Cardinal in 1879 by Pope Leo XIII, presided. The City of Toulouse was formerly a Roman city with famous schools, in which three brothers of Emperor Constantine were pupils. The Episcopal See of Toulouse was founded in the middle of the Third Century by St. Saturninus. Among the Saints of the City are numbered St. Germaine Cousin, the Shepherdess, and St. John Francis Regis of the Society of Jesus. Among some of the pilgrimage churches of Toulouse are Notre d'ame Alet, Notre d'ame Avignonet and Notre d'ame Clary.

Beside Cardinal Desprez, there were in attendance about 1,500 Bishops and Priests from different parts of Europe. Special Eucharistic sessions were held in the various Churches of the Diocese. After the various meetings, which formed the special work of the Congress, came the crowning function of the procession of the Blessed Sacrament, which was held on June 25th, and was participated in by His Eminence, the Cardinal, over one thousand Ecclesiastics and thirty thousand people. The Fifth Eucharistic Congress was a pronounced success and great praise was bestowed upon all those who had charge of the arrangements.

SIXTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD IN PARIS IN 1888

The Sixth International Eucharistic Congress was held in Paris, July 2nd to 6th, 1888. It was an important gathering, under the Generalship of His Grace, Archbishop Richard, who became Cardinal in 1889, with the title of Santa Maria in Via. Archbishop Richard was a champion of Eucharistic Congresses and encouraged particularly the National Congresses held in various cities of France. Zealous Catholics of France desired that in the year in which an International Congress met in some other country there should be a Eucharistic Congress in France as a public act of faith and worship in honor of the Sacramental Presence of our Blessed Lord and Saviour.

Two lay leaders, Comte Chas. de Nicolai and M. Louis Cazeaux, President of the Nocturnal Adoration Society, suggested the formation of a permanent organization for the holding of National Eucharistic Congresses. At their request, Archbishop Richard, who was

so impressed with the Sixth International Eucharistic Congress, gave cheerful permission and founded a Committee called "Committee for the National Eucharistic Congresses of France." The example of France was soon followed in other countries.

The opening of the Congress was solemnly observed in the various churches of Paris, particularly in the Church of Sacre Coeur (Sacred Heart) at Montmartre, the great National Memorial Church of Paris, where the principal celebration took place. The Church is one of the newest and most frequented in Paris.

It was very appropriate that the Church of the Sacred Heart should be chosen for the central service since it had been erected as an atonement for the many outrages committed against the Eucharistic God in the Churches of Paris, especially during the days of the Revolution, A. D. 1793, when the Churches were desecrated and a ballet dancer was placed in the Sanctuary of Notre Dame as the "Goddess of Reason" to receive the adoration of the ribald throng. Immoral songs and blasphemy resounded through this sacred structure and the wildest revels were shamefully indulged in in the side Chapels. Even as recently as 1871 the Communists outraged and pillaged the Church of Notre Dame. As an amend for these shameful sacrileges the Church of the Sacred Heart was erected and this knowledge increased the fervor of all those who attended the Sixth International Eucharistic Congress.

Prayer meetings, discussions and public devotions in honor of the Holy Eucharist took place. The pilgrims visited the Churches of Paris, notably the Church of St. Nicholas des Chardonnet, where St. Francis de Sales preached, in years past, the Forty Hours Devotion; Notre Dame des Victoires, noted for the Miraculous Medal; the Notre Dame des Paris; the Madaline; St. Denis; St. Genevieve and the Church erected in honor of the famous Eucharistic Miracle des Billettes.

It is related by Cardinal de Lai that in 1290 a Jew of Paris bought a Sacred Particle from a woman. Filled with hate he proceeded to pierce the Particle with a penknife and, in terror, beheld Blood gushing forth. This occurrence was made known through the Jew's little son, who went about saying that his father had killed the God of the Christians. Investigations were instituted; the Sacred Host was found and is now preserved in the Church of St. John in Greve. The house in which the sacrilege was committed was destroyed and an oratory called the "Chapel of the Miracle" was erected over it.

A tremendous assembly was present when on July 6th, 1888, the final Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was given to the reverent throng. Leo XIII sent his Apostolic Benediction. It was this great Pope, under whose pontificate fourteen International Eucharistic Congresses were held, who said: "It gives Us much pleasure to recall to mind that we have encouraged the holding of Eucharistic Congresses, the results of which have been as profitable as the attendance at them has been numerous and distinguished."

SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

HELD AT ANTWERP, BELGIUM, IN 1890

The Seventh International Eucharistic Congress was held at Antwerp August 16 to 21, 1890. His Eminence August Cardinal Goossens, Archbishop of Mechlin, presided. The city of Antwerp, often called the "Florence of the North," had made extensive preparations for this great event and the whole country turned out to celebrate the Feast of the Eucharistic King.

Antwerp is noted for its famous artists—Van Dyke, Seghers, Jordaens and Rubens, the painter of the "Descent from the Cross," found in the Notre Dame Cathedral, which is considered Rubens' masterpiece. Other paintings by Rubens in the Cathedral are—"Elevation of the Cross," "The Assumption" and "The Resurrection." Rubens was one of the outstanding Holy Name men of the Seventeenth Century. He never began his day's toil without first attending Holy Mass. Antwerp has about 400,000 people and forty churches. Besides the Cathedral, the notable churches are: The Church of St. Jacques, where Rubens lies buried, and the Church of St. Michael, over which St. Norbert, the founder of the Order of Premonstratensians, once presided.

The following Eucharistic Miracle is related in connection with St. Norbert: The heretic Tankelin of Antwerp boldly preached against the Holy Eucharist and the Priesthood and soon had a following of several thousand. This heretic had concealed in damp cellars several Holy Hosts. St. Norbert proceeded to Antwerp, gave powerful sermons on the devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and preached on Frequent Communion and was the instrument that converted many of the heretics and reformed many abuses and practices. He deposited in the Church of St. Michael several sacred Hosts which, through contempt, had been hidden in damp cellars and these, after fifteen years, had remained intact in a miraculous manner. St. Norbert was one of the greatest champions of the Holy Eucharist of the Twelfth Century. He is usually pictured holding in his hand a Ciborium.

Msgr. Goossens, who presided over the Congress, was consecrated Bishop of Namur in 1883 and when he became Archbishop of Mechlin in 1889, his successor to the See of Namur was Bishop Thomas Heylen, the present President of the Permanent Committee of the International Eucharistic Congress, who will take prominent part in the Chicago Congress. Archbishop Goossens was created Cardinal in 1889 under the title of "Santa Croce in Jerusalem." He was noted as a tireless worker, amiable, prudent and kind in all his dealings and a great promoter of economical interests among the working classes.

He was a great organizer and presided over many Conventions. His co-operation with the clergy and the laity of his Diocese made the Seventh International Eucharistic Congress a notable success.

The Congress was largely attended by Churchmen and Laymen from various countries of Europe, especially from France. Rt. Rev. Doutreboux, Bishop of Liege, Belgium, was the President of the Permanent Committee for the organization of the Eucharistic Congress which had charge of the various sessions held in connection with the Antwerp gathering. The closing exercises—the supreme act of the Congress—were held in the beautiful Place de Meir, where an immense altar had been erected, from which Cardinal Goossens gave the Solemn Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, surrounded by an assemblage of 150,000 people.

EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS HELD IN JERUSALEM IN 1893

Jerusalem, the Holy City, was the scene of the Eighth International Eucharistic Congress, held May 14 to 21, 1893. Pope Leo XIII took a very special interest in this Congress, advocating the reunion of the Oriental Churches with the Church of Rome, and sent Cardinal Langeneiux, Archbishop of Reims, as his Special Legate. Jerusalem was the first Congress to which the Holy See sent a Cardinal Legate. Cardinal Langeneiux was a great champion of every noble cause and an intimate friend of Pope Leo XIII. The Congress was one of the most imposing and inspiring ever held, for it took place in the very city where Christ instituted the Holy Eucharist and where stands the Cenacle, the "Cradle of the Blessed Sacrament."

Holy recollections inspired the pilgrims in Jerusalem, especially when they stood in the "Upper Room," the traditional Supper Chamber on Mt. Zion, where took place the first Eucharistic Congress, which was attended by the twelve Apostles with Christ presiding. In this Upper Room on the first Holy Thursday, the Paschal Lamb, the

Sacrifice of the Old Law, was eaten for the last time legally and then abrogated, and the Sacrifice of the New Law was instituted with the words: "This is My Body. This is My Blood. Do this in commemoration of Me."

How one's heartstrings yearn when standing on the site where the Holy Eucharist was first instituted; where was held the first Eucharistic Congress; where the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles; where the Apostles were commissioned by Christ to forgive sins.

But alas! the Cenacle—this most sacred of all shrines, this first Church of Christendom, where the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles worshipped—is today in the hands of the Mussulman and Catholics find it difficult to worship there. I shall never forget the unutterable sadness I felt when I visited the Cenacle in 1922. May God grant that the day is not far distant when our Blessed Saviour will again be enthroned in a Tabernacle in the Upper Room, where He celebrated the First Holy Mass, and that a Guard of Honor shall surround Him, adoring His glorious Body and His precious Blood. According to press despatches, a movement is afoot which has for its purpose the ceding back the Cenacle to its original custodians, the Franciscans.

The most touching services of the Congress were held in the Garden of Gethsemane and in the Grotto of the Agony on the very spot where our Divine Lord suffered His Agony and Bloody sweat. "Here His sweat fell like drops of blood," is the Latin inscription which one sees on a black marble tablet, the reading of which pierces the heart of a Christian like a sword and compels him to fall prostrate in prayer. An inspiring sermon on the Adoration of the Blessed Eucharist was preached here during the Congress and Eucharistic devotions were held in other sacred places in Jerusalem, and prayers were sent to Heaven that the Churches of the Orient would return to the Unity of Christ.

The Closing Act of Worship, the Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament, was given by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Langeneiux, surrounded by pilgrims from all parts of Europe and Church dignitaries of the Near East. The Congress had a most salutary effect on all those who attended. Cardinal Langeneiux, at the conclusion of the Congress, invited the following one to be held in his Archepiscopal city, Reims, France, in 1894.

NINTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD IN REIMS, FRANCE, 1894

Reims, France, was the scene of the Ninth International Eucharistic Congress, which convened August 25 to 29, 1894, and was sponsored by Cardinal Langeneiux, Archbishop of Reims.

As Papal Legate at the Jerusalem Congress, Cardinal Langeneiux made warm friends in the Near East and these were largely represented at the Reims gathering, together with a big delegation from nearly all European cities. The principal services of the Congress were held in the Reims Cathedral which is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

Reims had made extensive preparations for this Congress and Cardinal Langeneiux, who was a great champion of the laboring classes and a student of social and economic questions, embodied, for the first time, in the program "The Social Question affecting the Rights of the Working Man," which was thoroughly discussed and the pernicious principles of anarchy and socialism were pointed out to the assembly. The great Encyclical of Leo XIII, "Rerum Novarum," on the condition of the working classes, issued May 15, 1891, furnished splendid material for discussion.

Whilst preparations for the Ninth International Eucharistic Congress were in progress, there was established in the United States the Priests Eucharistic League, of which Rev. Bede Maler, O. S. B. of the St. Meinrad Benedictine Abbey, St. Meinrad, Indiana, was one of the chief promoters. Father Bede was the first representative of the Priests' Eucharistic League of the United States at the Eleventh International Eucharistic Congress held in Brussels in 1898. The Priests' Eucharistic League was definitely approved by Pope Leo XIII and canonically erected June 16, 1887, by Cardinal Parocchi in the Church of St. Claudio in Rome. This church is the canonical center of the Priests' Eucharistic League, but the office of the central administration of the league is at the house of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament at Brussels.

The first conference of the Priests' Eucharistic League of the United States was held on the Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, "Poet of the Holy Eucharist," and one month after the convening of the Ninth International Eucharistic Congress held in Reims, the first general conference of the Priests' Eucharistic League met at Notre Dame, Indiana. A year later, October, 1895, the first National Congress was held in Washington, D. C., with two hundred and fifty priests attending. Cardinal Gibbons was to have presided, but he

conferred this honor on the Rt. Rev. Camillus P. Maes, D. D., Bishop of Covington, Ky., who later was made the Protector of the League, an office which he filled until his death, May 11, 1915. He was succeeded in this office by the Rt. Rev. Jos. Schrembs, D. D., now Bishop of Cleveland, Ohio.

Cardinal Langeneiux officiated at the closing Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament and the sessions of the Ninth International Eucharistic Congress were closed August 29, 1894.

TENTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

HELD AT PARAY-LE-MONIAL, FRANCE, IN 1897

The Tenth International Eucharistic Congress was held in Paray-le-Monial, the City of the Sacred Heart, September 20-24, 1897. His Eminence Cardinal Perraud, Bishop of Autun, presided. Cardinal Perraud was a member of the French Academy. He was a powerful orator and preached the funeral sermons of Cardinal Guibert and Cardinal Lavignerie.

The Congress city, Paray-le-Monial, has about 5,000 inhabitants. Since 1873 it has been a great place for pilgrimages on account of the apparitions of St. Margaret Mary of Alacoque, the Apostle of the Eucharistic Heart of Jesus. Her visions took place in the Chapel of the Visitation, where the devotion of the Sacred Heart originated.

While kneeling in the Chapel on the Friday within the Octave of Corpus Christi, A. D. 1674, St. Margaret Mary had a vision and makes the following statement in her Memoire: "When the Blessed Sacrament was exposed, my soul being absorbed in extraordinary recollection, Jesus Christ presented Himself to me. He was brilliant with glory. His five wounds shone like five Suns. Flames darted from His adorable breast which displayed His loving and amiable Heart."

Another place of pilgrimage in Paray-le-Monial is the Hieron, a temple-palace erected in honor of the Eucharistic King. This palace, erected by a layman, has an unique collection of pictures and objects of art bearing on the Holy Eucharist.

In this Eucharistic Museum the visitor is edified by pictures of the Holy Eucharist depicting Eucharistic miracles. One picture portrays the people and clergy of Claremont going in procession to take up from the grass a Holy Host, around which a swarm of bees has built a wax tabernacle. Another picture shows St. Bernard raising the Holy Host over the head of a poor possessed woman and delivering her.

The Archconfraternity of the Holy Hour, the devotion so much encouraged by the Eucharistic Congresses, was established in Paray-le-Monial in 1829 by Father Robert De Brosse, and the society known as the Communion of Reparation was organized here in 1854 by Father Victor Drevon. The closing exercises and solemn procession along the streets of Paray-le-Monial were participated in by thousands of people, and Leo XIII, who called this city "A town very dear to Heaven," sent his Apostolic Benediction, which was imparted by Cardinal Perraud.

ELEVENTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD AT BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, IN 1898

The Eleventh International Eucharistic Congress was held at Brussels, Belgium, July 13 to 17, 1898. His Eminence Cardinal Goossens, Archbishop of Mechlin, who presided over the Seventh International Congress, held at Antwerp, again presided. This Congress was splendidly organized and was largely attended.

Services during the days of the Congress were held in the various churches of Brussels, but particularly in the Church of St. Gudule, the grandest church in Brussels, completed in 1653. This church was the attraction for all lovers of the Holy Eucharist because of the miraculous Hosts it contained.

We read in the "Histoire de l'Eucharist" by Corblet (Paris, 1886) that in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament of the Church of St. Gudule there are preserved since the Fourteenth Century, several consecrated Hosts, which were stolen from the tabernacle of the Church of St. Catherine by Jews on Good Friday, A. D. 1370, and sacrilegiously transfixed in their synagogue. The Hosts, it is said, bled frequently. Eventually, some of these Hosts were deposited in the Church of St. Gudule. This event is perpetuated by an annual procession on the Sunday after July 15, when the identical Hosts are exposed in St. Gudule's for the veneration of the faithful. Needless to state that the memory of this event increased the fervor of all who attended the Eleventh International Eucharistic Congress, for the Congress was held during the days when this annual celebration was observed.

Another church frequented by the delegates was the Chapelle de l'Expiation, built in 1436 on the site where stood the above mentioned synagogue. It was built in expiation of the sacrilege committed.

The Congress of Brussels was a representative gathering and many churchmen from European countries were in attendance. The Priests' Eucharistic League of the United States was represented for

the first time at an International Eucharistic Congress. Rev. Bede Maler, O. S. B. of St. Meinrad, Indiana, was the official representative. Father Bede addressed the Congress and gave a report of the activities of the Priests' Eucharistic League. His report was enthusiastically received and embodied in the Acts of the Congress.

The crowning ceremony of the Congress was the out-door procession and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, at which Cardinal Goossens and thousands of the faithful assisted. The King of Belgium also took a prominent part in the closing Exercises. Bishop Doutreloux of Liege was the President of the Permanent Committee.

TWELFTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD AT LOURDES, FRANCE, IN 1899.

Lourdes, France, the City of Miracles, was the scene of the Twelfth International Eucharistic Congress, which was held from August 7-11, 1899. His Eminence, Cardinal Langeneux of Reims, was the Papal Legate. Cardinal Langeneux was also the Papal Legate of the Eighth International Eucharistic Congress, held in Jerusalem, and was the sponsor of the Ninth International Congress held in his Archiepiscopal City—Reims, France.

Thousands of pilgrims took part in the Lourdes Congress and the services held in and around the Basilica were full of devotion. The grand procession of the Blessed Sacrament, around Mary's Grotto, was the closing event of the Congress and the great Square, through which the procession passed, was lined with thousands of people. A number of sick and infirm seeking health from their Eucharistic Lord, through the intercession of His Blessed Mother, were also found along the path of the procession.

The Lourdes Congress was notable for the number of prelates and priests who attended.

THIRTEENTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD AT ANGERS, FRANCE, IN 1901

The Thirteenth International Eucharistic Congress convened in the city of Angers, France, from September 4-8, 1901. It was sponsored by Msgr. Rumeau. This Congress took a sympathetic interest in young men and a special Young Men's Section was formed, at which discussions were held as to the best means of promoting a greater devotion to the Holy Eucharist on the part of young people and how the social question could be solved. Leo XIII sent his Benediction.

FOURTEENTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

HELD AT NAMUR, BELGIUM, IN 1902

The Fourteenth International Eucharistic Congress convened at Namur, Belgium, September 3-7, 1902, under the presidency of Rt. Rev. Thos. L. Heylen, Bishop of Namur, who had been appointed by Pope Leo XIII as President of the Permanent Committee of International Eucharistic Congresses. Bishop Heylen succeeded Bishop Doutreloux of Liege, Belgium, who had been the President of the Permanent Committee for the organization of Eucharistic Congresses since their beginning and who died in 1901.

Bishop Heylen of Namur will take a prominent part in the Chicago Congress. He has been President of the Permanent Committee of International Eucharistic Congresses for a quarter of a century and has taken active leadership in fourteen International Eucharistic Congresses. He is the best posted man on International Eucharistic Congresses in the world today and has traveled extensively in the interests of Eucharistic Congresses, to which he is greatly devoted. He is a great linguist and makes it his duty to address every Congress in the language of the country in which the Congress is held.

Cardinal Goossens of Mechlin took an important part in the Namur Congress. The great Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, "Mirae Caritatis," issued May 28, 1902, on the "Most Holy Eucharist" gave the Eucharistic Congress great encouragement. In this Encyclical Leo XIII announced to the world that he had designated St. Paschal Baylon, a Franciscan Lay Brother, whose devotion to the mystery of the Eucharist was so extraordinary, as the Heavenly Patron of all Eucharistic Congresses.

Referring to the Eucharistic Congresses, the Encyclical of Leo XIII says: "It gives Us much pleasure to recall to mind that we have encouraged the holding of Eucharistic Congresses, the result of which has been as profitable as the attendance has been numerous and distinguished." In this celebrated Encyclical, the Holy Father requests the Priests to promote with all their might the glory of the Holy Eucharist, so that this mystery, instituted for all time "for the life of the world" will shine forth with an even brighter light.

FIFTEENTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

HELD AT ANGOULEME, FRANCE, IN 1904

The Fifteenth International Eucharistic Congress convened in Angouleme, France, July 20-24, 1904. His Eminence Cardinal Lecot, Archbishop of Bordeaux, presided. The principal services took place in St. Peter's Cathedral.

A great disappointment prevailed when the French authorities forbade the public procession of the Blessed Sacrament, which had been the crowning point of all Congresses thus far held. After this disappointment it seemed unlikely that an International Eucharistic Congress would meet in France for a long time to come. Of the fourteen International Eucharistic Congresses thus far held, eight had met in France.

SIXTEENTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD IN ROME, ITALY, IN 1905

The Sixteenth International Eucharistic Congress was held in Rome, Italy, June 1-6, 1905, on the invitation of Pope Pius X. It was the occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the founding of Eucharistic Congresses. The Congress was inaugurated by the Holy Father himself on June 1, 1905, the Feast of the Ascension. The Holy Father celebrated Pontifical Mass in St. Peter's. The ceremonies were conducted with all the magnificence of the Roman Ritual and in the presence of an immense crowd. Twenty-eight Cardinals and a large number of Archbishops, Patriarchs and Bishops attended.

On each of the three days the Congress met in the evening in the Church of St. John Lateran, where is preserved the Table of the Last Supper, at which Our Lord sat when He instituted the Holy Eucharist. This precious relic was exposed for veneration during the days of the Congress. The sessions of the Congress were held at the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles, at which Cardinal Respighi, President of the Congress, presided. Fourteen Cardinals, forty Bishops and two thousand delegates were present, most of whom were seated on a platform which was surmounted with a large picture of St. Paschal Baylon, Patron of Eucharistic Works and Congresses.

Bishop Heylen of Namur, Belgium, President of the Permanent Committee, gave an interesting history of Eucharistic Congresses during their existence of twenty-five years. Rev. F. Oberdorffer, representing Cardinal Fisher of Cologne, spoke and invited the Congress to meet at Cologne at some future date. Other speakers were M. Rene Bazin of the French Academy; M. Kurth, Professor of Liege; Rev. David Fleming of England.

The closing of the Sixteenth International Eucharistic Congress in St. Peters was one of the most magnificent and impressive ceremonies ever witnessed in the Eternal City. Its glory and beauty surpass description. The Holy Father, dressed in his most magnificent robes, was borne on high. He was kneeling on a small platform with the Blessed Sacrament before him. Thirty Cardinals, dressed in the

gorgeous scarlet of their office; over one hundred Prelates; the Noble Guards and Knights took part in the procession. Among the American Prelates in attendance were Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia; Bishop Donahue of Wheeling, W. Va.; Bishop Janssen of Belleville, Ill., and Bishop Garvey of Altoona, Pa. The Procession wended its way through the large Basilica to the Pope's Altar. Here was imparted the Solemn Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament by the Pope amidst the sounding of the silver trumpets.

The Holy Father was visibly touched by the solemnity of the occasion. After the Benediction he intoned the "Te Deum" which was sung by the famous Sistine Choir and all the people. The final services lasted from 3:00 to 7:00 P. M.

One of the great results of the Rome Congress was the beginning of the movement which led to the issuance of the Decree of Daily Communion by Pope Pius X on December 10, 1905, and of subsequent Eucharistic Acts and Decrees.

SEVENTEENTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS HELD AT TOURNAI, BELGIUM, IN 1906

The Seventeenth International Eucharistic Congress met at Tournai, Belgium, August 15-19, 1906. Pope Pius X sent Cardinal Vincent Vannutelli as Papal Legate, who also presided.

The Diocese of Tournai has about 550 parishes and a Catholic population of approximately 1,500,000. One of its late Bishops was Msgr. Dumont, who was at one time a Priest in the United States in the Diocese of Detroit, Mich., until his appointment as Vice Rector of the American College at Louvain, Belgium.

A very interesting program was carried out at the Tournai Congress. The Sectional discussions were arranged under general heads—one on Instructions on the Holy Eucharist in the Family, in the Schools and Colleges and in the Parish; one on the Love and Veneration of the Holy Eucharist in the Sunday and Daily Mass, in Frequent Communion to the Sick, in the Work of Reparation and Perpetual Adoration; one on Confraternities of the Holy Eucharist and their Special Works, together with separate sections for Priests, for Young Men and for Women.

EIGHTEENTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS HELD AT METZ, GERMANY, IN 1907

The Eighteenth International Eucharistic Congress was the first Congress held in Germany. Six thousand delegates assembled. Cardinal Vincent Vannutelli represented the Holy Father as Papal Le-

gate. Among the distinguished churchmen present were Cardinal Fisher of Cologne and the Archbishops of Besancon, Westminster and Bucharest. Bishop Camillus P. Maes of Covington, Ky., was also in attendance and presented a letter to the President of the Congress from Cardinal Gibbons.

Among the Lay Delegates were General Charette, Commander of the Papal Zouaves; Count Hontesch; Dr. Groeber, Leader of the Central Party in the Reichstag, and Prince Max of Germany. The work of the Congress was entirely religious. The authorities of Strassbourg gave permission for a great open air procession of the Blessed Sacrament on Sunday, August 11—all such processions having been forbidden since 1872.

The children of Metz and the surrounding country to the number of 10,000 formed the procession, singing hymns and canticles. The Municipal Council gave orders to ring the large bell called "La Mutte." This bell dates back to A. D. 1605 and is rung only at the entrance of sovereigns. The City Council also took part in the official reception of the Cardinal Legate.

The Archbishop of Westminster, England, who took part in the Metz Congress, invited the following Congress to meet in London. The "London Tablet" stated that "the Eighteenth International Eucharistic Congress, held in Metz, afforded an occasion for the most striking manifestations of the Catholic Faith, Unity and Piety on the part of our Continental Brethren, of which they were not slow to avail themselves."

Among the interesting papers read at the Metz meeting were: "Frequentation to the Holy Table in the Diocese of Metz"; "Works Relating to Holy Mass"; "Easter Communion"; "Perpetual Adoration"; "The Sacred Heart and the Eucharist."

The procession of the Most Blessed Sacrament was conspicuous for its splendor, its devotion, and for the large number of men who took part in it—about as many, it is said, as marched out of the vanquished city after the siege in the Franco-Prussian War, in 1870. In his letter to the Congress, Pope Pius X said: "The Eucharist is the center point of Catholic worship; the pivot of Christian life; the very Soul of the Church."

In the same year, October 15 to 17, 1907, a Eucharistic Congress was held at Pittsburgh, Pa., U. S. A., where the Rt. Rev. B. J. Keiley, D. D., late Bishop of Savannah, Ga., preached the opening sermon.

NINETEENTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD AT LONDON, ENGLAND, IN 1908

His Grace Archbishop Bourne of Westminster invited the 19th International Eucharistic Congress to meet in London, England, September 9th-13th, 1908. The opening services were conducted in the Westminster Cathedral whose stately tower rises to a great height surmounted by a Cross containing a relic of the True Cross.

Cardinal Vannutelli represented Pope Pius X. It was more than 350 years that England had seen a Papal Legate. There were in attendance 6 Cardinals, 11 Archbishops, 70 Bishops and prominent churchmen from practically all the countries of the world. The new World had representatives from South America, Mexico, Canada and United States. The latter country was represented by Cardinal Gibbons who preached the concluding sermon of the Congress. The Cathedral, which holds six thousand people, was crowded to its capacity. Albert Hall, which was one of the meeting halls, held eight thousand people.

The Congress was an epoch-making event. The gathering was cosmopolitan, the like never heretofore witnessed in the world outside of the city of Rome. Two important resolutions were adopted at the monster mass meeting of 15,000 people held in Albert Hall. The first resolution was that the 19th International Eucharistic Congress pledges to promote solemn and earnest devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. The second, it proclaimed its unalterable fidelity to the Apostolic See. The speakers at this meeting included Archbishop Carr of Melbourne, Australia, and Archbishop Bruchesi of Montreal, Canada.

It was hoped that an outdoor procession of the Blessed Sacrament could be held. For this purpose the Catholics of France sent huge quantities of flowers to England to be scattered before the King of Kings in His triumphal march through the streets of London. So great was the number of flowers that a special boat and train had been chartered to convey them to England. How great was the disappointment when it was made known that the Holy Eucharist could not be borne through the streets of London. The flowers were then brought to the Cathedral and were used to adorn all the altars of London's great Cathedral.

The procession was held without the Blessed Sacrament, and at its conclusion the Papal Legate gave the solemn benediction of the Blessed Sacrament from three open balconies of the Cathedral to the great multitude crowding the streets. Eleven English noblemen,

headed by the Duke of Norfolk, attended the Papal Legate as a guard of honor.

TWENTIETH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD AT COLOGNE, GERMANY, IN 1909

The Twentieth International Eucharistic Congress was held in Cologne, Germany, August 3rd-8th, 1909, under the Presidency of His Eminence Cardinal Fischer of Cologne. Cardinal Vannutelli was the Papal Legate. Five Cardinals, 5 Archbishops and 60 Bishops were present.

The Papal Legate came down the River Rhine in a boat and was enthusiastically received by Cardinal Fischer and escorts, whilst hundreds of thousands greeted the distinguished guest as he was being escorted to the great Cologne Cathedral whose "Kaiser Bell" was booming forth a welcome.

A deep religious sentiment prevailed all over Cologne during the days of the Congress. In six churches the Blessed Sacrament was constantly exposed for adoration. For hours and hours every morning Priests were busy at the communion rails in many churches. Pontifical Masses were celebrated in the Cathedral daily and on Sunday the Papal Legate pontificated. The sermons were masterpieces, especially the one given by the Bishop of Freiburg in which he compared the millions of stars in the heavens with the millions of white stars—the Holy Hosts—which, like the Mana of old, cover the world today.

Sectional meetings were held at which papers on the Holy Eucharist were read and discussed. One interesting paper was on Blessed Peter J. Eymard, the modern Apostle of the Eucharist. It was also stated with great satisfaction that St. Thomas Aquinas, the "Singer of the Blessed Sacrament," and composer of the Office of Corpus Christi, one of the finest Offices in the Roman Breviary, studied under Blessed Albertus Magnus, who lies buried in the Church of St. Andrew in Cologne. Among the lay speakers at the Congress were the Mayor of Cologne, and Doctor Marks of Duesseldorf.

The crowning point was the grand procession on Sunday, August the 8th, in which, 70,000 took part. The marchers represented guilds and confraternities from all over Europe. There were in line 500 letter-carriers of Cologne, 1,000 men from the Krupp Works of Essen; 500 miners of Westphalia. The procession was punctuated with bands and surpliced choirs. Then came Priests and Religious, Army Veterans, 30 Mitred Abbots, 60 Bishops in Cope and Mitre, and 40 Archbishops. The Cardinal Legate carried the Blessed Sac-

rament. He was followed by Cardinal Ferrari, Cardinal Mercier and Cardinal Fischer. Behind the Cardinals came the Knights of the Pontifical Orders in full uniform, and these were followed by a phalanx of many hundreds of laymen of Cologne in evening dress.

When the procession reached New Market, a wide open space, a solemn Benediction was given to the immense throng that filled the great square. The procession then wended itself to the Cathedral where Benediction was given from the steps at the entrance and again from the high altar. Amidst the singing of the *Te Deum* the 20th International Eucharistic Congress came to a solemn close. "This public demonstration of faith," says *America*, "was indeed a joy to heaven and earth."

TWENTY-FIRST INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD IN MONTREAL, CANADA, IN 1910

The Twenty-first International Eucharistic Congress took place at Montreal, Canada, September 7th-11th, 1910. Most Rev. Paul Bruchesi, Archbishop of Montreal, had accepted the invitation to hold the Congress in his archepiscopal city on the request of the Permanent Committee that was very desirous of holding an International Eucharistic Congress in Canada. Cardinal Vincenzo Vannutelli was the Papal Legate. The Congress was honored with the presence of 3 Cardinals and 150 Bishops.

The sessions were memorable and the papers read and sermons preached did not fail to enkindle in all who took part a deep devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. The Congress was a wonderful spectacle. Splendid were the decorations along the triumphal route on the day of the solemn procession in that immense amphitheatre of three miles all flowering with vivats and prayers. Over 100,000 men were in the procession, which was three and one-half hours in passing at a given point. The first column moved at 12:30 P. M. and four hours later the Blessed Sacrament followed escorted by Cardinals, Bishops and Priests. It was 8 o'clock in the evening when the Benediction fell upon the vast multitude.

After the grand Benediction was over the Blessed Sacrament was carried to the Chapel of a hospital among God's poor, whilst after the Madrid Congress the Blessed Sacrament was enclosed in the Palace of the King.

Mayor Guerein of Montreal, who had done such great work to make the Montreal Congress a success, was later made a Knight Commander of Saint Gregory by Pope Pius X, on the recommendation of His Eminence Cardinal Vannutelli.

The American Federation of Catholic Societies, which did such excellent services for the Catholic Church in the United States during its sixteen years of existence, was officially represented at the Montreal Congress by one of its founders, the Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, Bishop of Trenton, N. J. Bishop McFaul took prominent part in the proceedings, so also did Mr. Burns of England, who gave an address on Federation. Bishop McFaul in his report to the Federation, said: "The Montreal Eucharistic Congress was the greatest expression of Catholic Faith that I have ever witnessed."

TWENTY-SECOND INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD AT MADRID, SPAIN, IN 1911

The Twenty-second International Eucharistic Congress was held in Madrid, Spain, June 25th-29th, 1911. The Papal Legate was His Eminence Cardinal Augirre y Garcia, Primate of Spain and Archbishop of Toledo. In the Papal Brief which was read, Pope Pius said: "No other Nation should surpass Spain in zeal for the Blessed Sacrament, for was not one of their chief glories St. Paschal Baylon the acknowledged Patron of all Eucharistic Works and Congresses." The opening assembly was held in the Church of San Francisco el Grande where the Papal Legate presided.

The Eucharistic procession was most wonderful. It wended its way to the Royal Palace headed by the troops of his Catholic Majesty King Alfonso, followed by the cavalry and artillery. Then came the car with the Most Blessed Sacrament covered with silver and drawn by elite adorers. From the balcony of the Royal Palace the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was given to the vast assembly, after which the Blessed Sacrament was escorted to the Royal Palace accompanied by King Alfonso with candle in hand, followed by the Queen, the King's Mother, the Grandees of Spain and Ministers of State.

After the Blessed Sacrament had been placed under the canopy the King fell on his knees and the following act of consecration was read in the name of the King:

"Oh! sovereign Lord, living in the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist! King of Kings and Lord over those that govern! Before Thy august throne of grace and mercy all Spain, the well beloved daughter of Thy Heart, prostrates itself. We are Thy people; reign over us! May Thy Empire last forever and ever, Amen." Thus was closed the solemnities of the Madrid Congress with a wonderful profession of Faith in the Holy Eucharist by the

King who consecrated his sceptre and his crown to Christ in the Holy Eucharist.

It is reported that 100 tons of flowers were strewn along the route of the procession. A floral banner of natural flowers thirty feet high was carried. Twenty thousand children, 20,000 men, 7 Archbishops, 65 Bishops, 3,000 Priests, the King of Spain, and nobility took prominent part. The Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, carried the Blessed Sacrament. All the church bells of Madrid were ringing, during the procession, and at night the whole city was brightly illuminated.

Striking features of the Congress were the monster gathering conducted by the International Committee of the Federation of Catholic Women's Leagues and presided over by prominent prelates, and the General Communion of 25,000 children at Retrio Park, also the General Communion for the women.

TWENTY-THIRD INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS HELD AT VIENNA, AUSTRIA, 1912

The Twenty-third International Eucharistic Congress was held at Vienna, Austria, September 11th-15th, 1912. His Eminence Cardinal Nagl, Archbishop of Vienna, was the sponsor of the Congress. Bishop Heylan presided at the meetings. Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria was the Protector and took active part in the Congress. The aged Emperor was greatly devoted to the Holy Eucharist and every year he joined in the procession in the Feast of Corpus Christ. At the opening of the Congress the Emperor and his entire household received Holy Communion.

During the days of the Congress Pontifical Mass was celebrated in the Metropolitan Church of St. Stephen. In all the churches of Vienna the Blessed Sacrament was exposed for the adoration of the Faithful and everywhere Holy Communion was distributed. A magnificent Art Exhibition was held which was greatly admired by the Congressists.

The Papal Delegate was received on September 9th and a grand reception was tendered him at the Cathedral. The Congress was formally opened on Wednesday evening, September 11th, and during the convention days sectional meetings were held throughout the city.

The Solemn procession took place Sunday, September 15th. It started from St. Stephen's Church and proceeded to the Ring to the Burgtor upon whose platform Holy Mass was celebrated. After Mass the procession wended its way back to the St. Stephen's Cathedral where Benediction was imparted. Cardinal Van Rossum

was the Papal Legate. A choir of 1,000 voices sang at the Mass and every church bell was ringing during the services and the guns of the Kahlenberg thundered forth a salute to the God of the Holy Eucharist during Benediction. A mighty "Te Deum" and a fervent "Ave Maria" closed the Twenty-third International Eucharistic Congress.

TWENTY-FOURTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS HELD AT MALTA IN 1913

The Twenty-fourth International Eucharistic Congress was held in Malta, April 23rd-27th, 1913. Cardinal Ferrata was chosen as Papal Legate. The Island of Malta lies about fifty-eight miles south of Italy in the Mediterranean Sea. It is a small Island little more than 100 square miles in area. The Church in Malta was first founded by the Great Apostle St. Paul. The Congress was attended by five Cardinals and sixty Archbishops and Bishops and a large number of Priests. An unique feature of the Congress was the "Blessing of the Sea" on Saturday, April 26th and the "Blessing of the Land" on the plain of Floriana on Sunday, April 27th, in the presence of an immense crowd of people. Literally the whole population of Malta was present. A large altar thirty feet high had been erected for the Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. The monstrance used was of solid gold. Several thousand people took part in the closing procession which dispersed at 8 P. M.

When the Cardinal Legate intoned the Te Deum it was sung by 200,000 voices with no one to conduct them but the spontaneity of religious enthusiasm. The Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was announced by firing a shower of rockets from the Church of St. Publius and the ringing of bells.

The Congress meetings were held in the Church in Musta. Among those who spoke was the Archbishop of Westminster, who also celebrated Pontifical High Mass at the Rotunda April the 26th. Archbishop Bourne spoke on "The Eucharist and the Family." Other noteworthy events took place at the Church of St. Publius, Malta's first bishop, where thousands of children received Holy Communion; and at the Grotto of St. Paul, where the Apostle Paul passed his three months' stay at the Island. Mass was celebrated and a sermon was preached on the spot where St. Paul preached his sermons.

TWENTY-FIFTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD AT LOURDES, FRANCE, IN 1914

The Twenty-fifth International Eucharistic Congress took place at Lourdes, France, August 25th-28th, 1914. It marked the Silver Jubilee of International Eucharistic Congresses. Ten Cardinals, 200 Archbishops and Bishops and about 5,000 Priests attended. Cardinal Granito di Belmonte was the Papal Legate. A picked choir of 200 fine voices furnished the singing.

Every evening of the Congress a procession was held around the Basilica in which 15,000 people took part. The esplanade was brilliantly illuminated and the singing of the "Credo in Unum Deum" was inspiring. The appearance of Lourdes was most picturesque. Never had so many nations been seen together in one place.

Mgr. Heylen presided and announcement was made that 18 Bishops came from Asia, 8 from Africa, 43 from America, 4 from Australia. The Holy Father Pius X sent an Apostolic Brief. Every time the name of Pope Pius X was mentioned it was received by the crowd with the greatest enthusiasm.

Beside the evening procession, there were held each morning a procession of the Most Blessed Sacrament at 6 A. M., participated in by 3,000 people. The Twenty-fifth International Eucharistic Congress has gone down in history as one of the most important gatherings ever held.

TWENTY-SIXTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD AT ROME, ITALY, IN 1922

The Twenty-sixth International Eucharistic Congress was held in Rome, Italy, on Ascension Day, May 25th-29th, 1922. His Holiness Pope Pius XI carried the Blessed Sacrament from the Sistine Chapel to St. Peter's Basilica. The Pope presided at the general opening on March 25th and responded to the address of Cardinal Vincenzo Vannutelli, Honorary President of the Congress.

The general theme developed at the Congress was "The Kingship of our Lord Jesus Christ through the Holy Eucharist." Addresses were delivered each day in Italian, English, French, Spanish and German. On the closing day, ceremonies were held in every diocese of the world in conjunction with those held in Rome.

TWENTY-SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS
HELD AT AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND, IN 1924

The Twenty-seventh International Eucharistic Congress was held in Amsterdam, Holland, in the latter part of July, 1924, at which Cardinal von Rossum was the Papal Legate, representing Pope Pius XI. He was given a wonderful reception. He arrived by sea from Antwerp on a special steamer, "Batavier," and over 100,000 people cheered him as he landed. He was met by the City Council and the Prime Minister and escorted to the Church of St. Willibrord. The Dutch tri-color, decorated with long streamers of the Papal Colors, was flying everywhere.

Sectional meetings were features of the Congress. America, England, France, Italy, Germany, Spain, Austria, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, Holland all had sectional sessions; there were sixty Archbishops Priests and Bishops in attendance, also six Cardinals and the Papal Legate. The principal meetings were held in the Stadium, which had a seating capacity of 30,000, but at the close there were in and around the Stadium 100,000 people.

The crowning feature was the procession of the Blessed Sacrament in and around the Stadium. Ten thousand men were in line besides a long line of the clergy. At last came the canopy borne by the Knights of Malta in the midst of a cloud of incense from some twenty thuribles. Cardinal Bourne of England carried the Monstrance and in the last stage it was carried by the Papal Legate who gave the Benediction in the Stadium. The singing of the Te Deum closed the out-door procession. The laws of Holland forbid the holding of religious processions in the public streets. In the evening there was procession and exposition of the Blessed Sacrament in all the Churches of Amsterdam.

The American section at Amsterdam, which was attended by several Chicagoans, passed at its closing meeting the following resolution:

"Be it resolved that this section do now adjourn for two years and resume its meetings in Chicago in the summer of 1926."

Chicago will spare no effort to make the Twenty-eighth International Eucharistic Congress—the first to be held in the United States—a brilliant success under the leadership of His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein.

ANTHONY MATRÉ

Chicago

Knight of St. Gregory the Great.

PATRON SAINT OF THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

"In the glorious ranks of those, the ardor of whose piety towards the great Mystery of Faith was more evident and overflowing, Paschal Baylon holds a most prominent place; for, having passed his life in spotless innocence, tending flocks, he embraced a severer mode of life, entering the Order of Minors, of the Strict Observance, and from the contemplation of the Holy Eucharist he derived that science and wisdom which placed him, though formerly an unpolished and illiterate man, in a position to solve the most difficult questions of the faith and even to write learned and pious books. He likewise having publicly and openly asserted the truth of the Eucharist among heretics, suffered many grievous persecutions, and, imitating the martyr Tharicius, he was also frequently threatened with death. Finally, he appears to have retained this great devotion even in death; for it is said that, when lying on his bier, twice he opened his eyes at the elevation of the two sacred Species.

"It is therefore evident that the Catholic congresses, of which we speak, could not be placed under better patronage. Besides, as we opportunely placed studious youth under the protection of Thomas Aquinas, charitable persons under that of Vincent de Paul . . . in like manner, we now, availing ourselves of our supreme authority, do, by virtue of these letters, declare and constitute St. Paschal Baylon the special heavenly Protector of the Eucharistic Congresses and of all societies, both present and future, taking their name from the most Holy Eucharist."—*Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII.*

The coat of arms of Pope Leo XIII, of happy memory, bore the motto, "Lumen de Coelo"—"Light from Heaven." Like all mottos, this one was an eloquent expression of the ideals of its bearer; but now, as we look back over a great career which ended a generation ago, we can see that this motto expressed something more: it expressed so to speak an ideal realized. It expressed the life and work of this great pope.

During his long pontificate of over twenty-five years, Leo XIII wrote many encyclicals, and their greatness was in keeping with the greatness of his life. Literally, they were a "light from Heaven" to a world which, in some respects was "sitting in darkness and the shadow of death." Standing on the Rock of Peter, Pope Leo gave the Catholic doctrine on the various phases of the world's actual needs in a detailed and practical way. He saw the troubles of the people around him, and he understood what the real remedy was. So he told them about "Christian Marriage, the Family as the Basis of the State," "Christian Citizenship," "The Condition of Labor" and outlined the solution of many other problems too numerous to mention.

But here is a great paradox. It has sometimes been said, in effect, that when Leo XIII selected St. Paschal Baylon, an obscure friar who was not even a priest, as the patron of Eucharistic Congresses, that his choice was hard to understand. "Why was this Spanish shepherd boy, this humble follower of St. Francis, given the preference over so many glorious doctors and prelates?" "Why not St. Thomas, the great 'Doctor of the Eucharist,' who wrote about Our Lord in His Sacrament with such truth and eloquence that the crucified Figure over the altar came to life and said to him, 'Thou hast written well of Me, Thomas. What wilt thou have as a reward?'" And we all know his answer—an answer worthy of a saint who was at the same time so great and so humble,—"Nothing but Thyself, O Lord." And then again, why not St. Bonaventure, the "Seraphic Doctor," who received Holy Communion through the ministry of an angel, and whom Pope Leo himself called the Prince of mystics? Or St. Clare, who held up the Blessed Sacrament before the Saracens and changed their victory into a rout?—These are glorious figures, but who ever heard of St. Paschal Baylon?

Perhaps it would be more in accord with historical truth, as well as the reverence due to such a solemn act of His Holiness, to say that here as elsewhere the message from Leo XIII was really a "Light from Heaven," although in this case there were some clouds in our atmosphere to obscure that light from our view. To understand what this means literally, in terms of actual facts—we must go back to history; we must know something of the beginnings of the great Eucharistic movement which is now approaching such a fitting climax here in Chicago.

As St. Augustine and so many other Fathers of the Church have pointed out, we can trace the workings of an all-wise and loving Providence in the great movements of the Church, as well as in the lives of individual saints.

For two centuries, roughly between the years 1650 and 1850, the Church in France was struggling against a heresy which was paralyzing Catholic life. In spite of repeated condemnations by Popes and councils, the errors of Jansenism cropped up in various forms, and in all its forms Jansenism was harsh and forbidding and repellant: now it was the stern educational system of Port Royal which at once insulted and depraved human nature; again it was the grim and paralyzing doctrine that Our Lord did not die for all men, but that many of us are doomed to hell even before our birth, and nothing that we can do can change matters; again we find the rigorous moral code, which excludes children entirely from receiving Our

Lord in Holy Communion, and allows grown-ups to receive Him only when commanded by the Church, and then in fear and trembling. It is no wonder that people turned away in disgust from such a harsh and un-Christian sect; the wonder is that such a sect claimed to be Catholic and tried to stay in the Church in spite of the Church herself.

Such was the blight which was working its ravages through a fertile corner of the Lord's Vineyard, and which caused centuries of anxious and seemingly useless struggle on the part of the popes, aided by holy men and women throughout the Church. And just here we trace the intervention of Divine Providence.

After their obstinate pride, the main trouble with the Jansenists was that they were full of a servile fear. They missed the central truth which Our Lord lived and died to teach: the law of love. They could not understand, apparently, how much God loved the world, and they themselves had never experienced that "love which casteth out fear." They thought that they were to be saved by cringing back in themselves, by "keeping their distance" from their Saviour. The result, of course, was a fatal coldness and indifference which dried up the heart and paralyzed the soul.

Plainly, for such a deformity there could be only one remedy:—the world had to be conquered by the love of Christ. People had to be convinced, even in spite of themselves, that the Sacred Heart of Jesus burned with an infinite love for them and could be satisfied only by receiving love in return. There was only one Source of their Salvation, and they must come to that Source and receive Him in Holy Communion.

It was according to the designs of Providence that the revelations of Our Lord's Sacred Heart to St. Margaret Mary should occur in the very same country where Jansenism was most flourishing, and during the reign of Louis XIV—"le Grand"—when immorality and cold indifference to Our Lord were at their height. From the feast of St. John, "the Apostle whom Jesus loved," in 1673, until the feast of Corpus Christi in 1675, Our Lord Himself intervened in the world miraculously to cure its ills by revealing how His Heart yearned for the love of all mankind. We all know His promises to those who come to Him frequently in the Sacrament of His love; we all know that it is Our Lord Himself Who inspired the pious custom of receiving Holy Communion on the nine First Fridays.

Two centuries later—in 1871, to be exact—at the time when Jansenism had practically run its course, and in the same country where the heretics had fought so hard against the love of God, and

where Our Lord had raised up and empowered so many of His saints to fight and conquer for His love, a group of Catholics in Lille, a little town in France, made a public demonstration of their love for the Blessed Sacrament. That was the first Eucharistic Congress. Since then the movement has been growing steadily towards gigantic proportions.

A quarter of a century later, Pope Leo XIII, in the apostolic letter quoted above, constituted St. Paschal Baylon the Heavenly Protector of Eucharistic Congresses. The Pope chose a humble shepherd and follower of St. Francis, without nobility of birth or education, or dignity in the Church, because he wanted to remind the great mass of people (if we may interpret his motives) that a Eucharistic Congress is mainly a people's Congress. He announced the truth which his saintly successor Pius X insisted on so strongly: the Blessed Sacrament is for the ordinary everyday man and woman and child in the world, and bishops and priests exist only to bring Christ to the people and the people to Christ. The pope himself glories in the title of "Servus Servorum Dei"—"Servant of the Servants of God."

During Our Lord's life on earth, He fed a great multitude by the miraculous multiplication of a few loaves and fishes, and then He promised to feed the whole world with His own Body and Blood. At the Last Supper, He made good His promise and gave His disciples the Sacrament of His Body and Blood. Down through the centuries, He and His saints have insisted that this Sacrament is for all mankind, for the lowly as well as for the great, for Gentile as well as Jew, for every man, woman and child on the face of the earth. He is the Saviour of the whole world, and all must come to Him for salvation.

And so, when Leo XIII chose a patron for Eucharistic Congresses, he selected one who should appeal to all men, he selected the simplest and most unassuming saint he could find. The glorious St. Thomas Aquinas, the Doctor of the Eucharist, adored Our Lord with the heart of a child, it is true, but still he had such a splendid mind that he and St. Augustine tower together over all Christian ages, as the "Pillars of Hercules"—Gibraltar and Abyla—towered over the ancient world. And so, perhaps, Pope Leo felt that the simple faithful might stand in awe at the glory of St. Thomas' genius more than they would love his simple and devoted soul. St. Thomas' devoted friend, St. Bonaventure, the "Seraphic Doctor," was open to the same objection. And so too, even St. Francis, the "poor man of Assisi," was passed over, because the very glory of his name might

make people feel his distance above them rather than their kinship with him. But in St. Paschal Baylon there is nothing to awe even the most timid, nothing but the simple and loving soul whose great passion in life was devotion to the Blessed Sacrament.

The story of St. Paschal is soon told. His family—the Baylons—belonged to that sturdy Spanish stock which had fought a Crusade of seven centuries on their native soil to defend their homes and their faith against the Arabs. They had no claim to nobility. They were a wholesome and honest peasant folk who lived in peace and contentment in their secluded hamlet on the plains of Aragon.

On Pentecost day, in 1540, a son was born to the family. It was a time-honored custom in Spain to name a child after the saint on whose feast day it was born, and Pentecost is commonly called by the Spaniards the “Pasch of the Holy Ghost.” Hence the name of our saint—Paschal Baylon. On the very same day, fifty-two years later, he died—Pentecost 1592.

When he was seven years old he became a shepherd. Even then he showed marked devotion to Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, and to His Mother. He placed himself and his flock under the protection of “The Mother of the Good Shepherd” and nothing could induce him to join in the petty thefts of his fellow shepherd boys, although he was otherwise a most agreeable companion. As long as the mountains remained in sight, he would turn in that direction to pray to “Our Lady of the Sierras,” but when the flocks had to go to more distant pastures, he conceived the happy idea of carving on his shepherd’s crook an image of Our Lady. Over this portable shrine he carved three crosses, to represent Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament. When the hour of prayer came, he would plant his staff on the ground and recite before it on his knees the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, as if he were praying before the Tabernacle in one of her chapels.

On Sundays the shepherds could go to Mass, but on week days their work generally made it impossible for them to leave their flocks. The few times during the week when Paschal could hear Mass only intensified his desire. On days when he could not leave his flock, he would listen for the bell announcing the various stages of the Holy Sacrifice, like the apostles at Our Lord’s Passion—following Him from afar. One morning when he heard the bell for the elevation, he fell on the ground in agony, longing to be near Our Lord. “My master,” he exclaimed, “My adorable Master. Oh that I might see Thee.” Scarcely had he uttered the cry, when he saw a luminous point in the heavens which riveted his gaze.

“Kneel down,” he exclaimed to his fellow shepherds. “Kneel down. Do you not see on high yon golden chalice, and the bright rays darting from the Host?” And he pointed to the luminous point. “It is the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar! The Angels are adoring it. Come, let us join our adoration to theirs.”¹

Paschal lived the life of a shepherd lad with his companions for seven years—working, loving, praying under the blue vault of heaven, much as every other normal shepherd lad around him, although his former companions testified later to more than one miracle wrought through him in those days.

At length, Paschal realized the ambition of his life and was professed a Franciscan. The dominant note of his life as a Friar Minor, as it was of his whole life, was his devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. Sent on a mission to another monastery, which took him through the land of the Huguenots, he openly professed his faith in the Sacrament of the Altar against the infuriated heretics, and even sought martyrdom as the crown of his devotion. Although he was only an unlettered lay-brother, he defended the Mystery so ably in his disputes with learned Huguenots that he threw them all into consternation. Providence saved him however and prevented him from dying for his faith to his great disappointment.

On Pentecost day, 1592, after a life full of miracles—and all miracles of mercy, like those of His divine Master—on the fifty-second anniversary of his birthday into this life, came his birthday into heaven, to use the expression so common among the early Christians.

His death was followed by a galaxy of miracles. On Whit-Monday his body lay in state in the monastery chapel. As he was a layman, the body was laid so as to face the altar. There was a certain family which stood by the bier during Mass seeking a miraculous cure. As the server's bell rang for the elevation, Brother Paschal's eyes were fixed wide open on the Sacred Host. They closed softly as the priest lowered It again and placed It on the altar.

Twenty years after his death, the body was exhumed and found incorrupt, although it had been buried in quicklime.

He was solemnly enrolled among the canonized saints in 1690, and in 1897 Pope Leo XIII named him Patron of Eucharistic Congresses.

When Our Lord came into the world on the first Christmas day, the first human beings to adore Him, after His Mother and St. Joseph,

¹ From the sworn deposition of Anthony Navarro (Paschal's master at the time) at the Process of Canonization.

were shepherds. It was only fitting that a shepherd should be made the patron of those who come to adore Him in all ages. The angels called first the simple people who were tending their flocks in the neighborhood. The wise men came afterwards. And so the invitation to the Eucharistic Congress which our own illustrious Cardinal is extending so cordially is meant first of all for the ordinary everyday Catholic. And they are coming from every part of the globe, from every race and country throughout the entire world.

The Eucharistic Congress means a great spiritual awakening for Chicago and through Chicago for the entire world.

*Sulpician Seminary
Catholic University
Washington, D. C.*

JOHN IRELAND GALLERY.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING FOR THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

Our Lord and Redeemer in Sacramental form is no stranger in Chicago. More than two hundred and fifty years ago on a bitter cold day in December a young French priest, James Marquette, S. J., stepped from his birch bark canoe on the waters of Lake Michigan and at the mouth of a little stream (the Chicago River) prepared his portable altar and celebrated Mass. In all the broad expanse now covered by the great metropolitan city of Chicago only two other white men could be found, Pierre Porteret and Jacques LeCastor the companions of Father Marquette.

At that first Mass recorded in the annals of Mid-America three men approached the Blessed Sacrament, the celebrant and his two acolytes, Pierre and Jacques. On December fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth, tenth and eleventh the Holy Sacrifice was offered up at the same place. To lend a measure of protection from the elements a hovel was constructed from branches covered with skins and blankets and this hut became the first church. The inclemency of the weather may be judged by the fact that the ground was covered with snow and the river was frozen to the "depth of half a foot." Indeed so cold was the weather that it was impossible to use the liquids required in the Mass and the great sacrifice had to be foregone on December the eighth, the very day upon which Father Marquette would especially desire to say Mass, the day of the Immaculate Conception.

PLANTING THE CHURCH

It is only by following the footsteps of Father Marquette that we are able to understand the development of the Church in this region. It is easy to believe him God-appointed, else why should he leave his native France, his home of comfort, and seek hardships and privations amongst the savages? Why the years of preparation in Canada and why the remarkable facility in acquiring Indian dialects? It was given him at any rate to be the co-discoverer, with Louis Joliet, of the great Father of Waters, which he named the River of the Conception, and to be the apostle of the Illinois.

Keeping in mind Father Marquette's landing place above alluded to, better identified as the northwest corner of Madison Street and Michigan Boulevard, (the river at that time emptied into the lake at that point) the site of the first Mass and the first church, let us follow him on his momentous journey. Leaving the lake front on the

eleventh of December his canoe was drawn upon the ice up the Chicago River two leagues to a point now marked by the junction of Robey Street and the Drainage Canal. There he was obliged by sickness to stop, and, in a cabin prepared by his companions, he lived from the 12th of December, 1674, to the 29th of March, 1675. This cabin became his pastoral residence and church. Here he celebrated Mass every day without exception, though very ill.

“The Blessed Virgin Immaculate has taken such care of us during our wintering that we have not lacked provisions and have still remaining a large sack of corn with some meat and fat. We also lived very pleasantly for my illness did not prevent me from saying Holy Mass every day.” Thus his journal.

Here, too, Pierre and Jacques went to confession and communion twice each week, and here the entire congregation joined in a Novena.

Here, too, came a physician, a devout and learned man, but whose name no man knows, to help the suffering missionary and “make his devotions” and to disappear from history forever.

His strength sufficiently restored, Father Marquette starts to the great village of the Illinois, to which he had promised, on the occasion of his former visit in 1673, to return and establish the Church. Arriving at his destination on April 8th he set about his object with haste for he knew his days were numbered. For three days he went into the cabins of the natives to prepare them for the momentous event. But Father Claude Dablon, the superior of the mission at the time, has told the story best:

“On arriving at the village he was received as an angel from Heaven. After he had assembled at various times the chiefs of the nation, with all the old men, that he might sow in their minds the seeds of the Gospel, and after having given instructions in the cabins, which were all filled with a great crowd of people, he resolved to address all in public, in a general assembly which he called together in the open air, the cabins being too small to contain all the people.

“It was a beautiful prairie close to the village which was selected for the great council; this was adorned after the fashion of the country by covering it with mats and bear skins. Then the Father having instructed them to stretch out upon lines several pieces of Chinese taffeta, attached to these four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin, which were visible on all sides.

“The audience was composed of 500 chiefs and elders, seated in a circle around the father, and of all the young men who remained standing. They numbered more than 1,500 men, without counting the women and children, who are always numerous,—the village being composed of 500 or 600 fires.

“The Father addressed the whole body of people and conveyed to them ten messages, by means of ten presents which he gave them. He explained to them the principal mysteries of our religion, and the purpose that had brought him to their country. Above all he preached to them Jesus Christ on the very eve

of that great day (Good Friday) upon which He had died upon the Cross for them, as well as for all the rest of mankind. THEN HE SAID HOLY MASS."

Thus was established the Church in Mid-America. A word of its development:

THE PROVERBIAL MUSTARD SEED

Wars amongst the Indian tribes resulted in the docile Illinois being pushed southward and the mission established by Father Marquette was carried with them to the new Kaskaskia in what became Randolph County, some seventy-five miles south of the now flourishing city of St. Louis. This new establishment became the permanent seat of the Church in Mid-America and so remained for more than one hundred years. The sublime story of the Church during these years is told in detail in the reports of the martyrs and confessors who succeeded Father Marquette in the mission and Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, founded and named by him. Reuben Gold Thwaite has rendered a signal service to mankind in the collection and publication of these letters. There is space here but to say that the Marquette foundation still stands. That the State, indeed a large part of the nation, was built around it, and that the Church grew out from it to the Gulf southward, the Canadian border north, to the Alleghenies eastward and to the Rocky Mountains west. The written parish records in nineteen volumes, covering the pre-Revolutionary period, are beyond doubt the most interesting documents of a private character to be found in the United States. By degrees in the latter part of the eighteenth century the thriving new Catholic city of St. Louis became a more populous place and when a bishop was appointed St. Louis was named as the city. Church history centered around that city therefore from the year 1827. It was the Bishop of St. Louis, therefore, that became charged with the development of the northern part of Illinois and of Marquette's first stopping place, Chicago.

BACK TO CHICAGO

It was inevitable that a city should grow up where the Chicago River furnished a gateway out of the Great Lakes. Traders, white and red, missionaries, travelers, everybody used the lakes and rivers as highways of transportation, and the readjustment following the Revolutionary war brought many people west. In 1804 a fort was established on the river near the lake and a settlement began to grow up around it. In 1812 the garrison and practically all of the inhabitants were foully massacred by the Indian allies of the British.

By 1813, however, there was a considerable settlement and a political division known as a town was formed. The population at this time was 90 per cent Catholic and the first Mayor, Thomas J. Owen, was a Catholic. The Town Council was largely Catholic and included John S. C. Hogan, the first postmaster.

In the year of the organization of the town, 1833, the residents assembled and drew up a petition to the Bishop of St. Louis for a priest. In response to the request, Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, D. D., sent John Mary Iranaeus Saint Cyr, a young Frenchman, just ordained, who established the Church in modern Chicago.

When Father Saint Cyr arrived in Chicago, May 5, 1833, a church had to be provided and in a short time a temporary chapel was built at what is now the southwest corner of Lake and State Streets, but four years later a significant change occurred. Casting about for a permanent location Father O'Meara, who succeeded Father Saint Cyr as pastor, decided upon the property at the northwest corner of Madison Street and Michigan Boulevard, purchased it and removed the little church thereto. Thus the site occupied by Father Marquette's cabin in 1674 became the first property of the Catholic Church in Chicago, and thereby hangs a wonderful tale of tremendous interest to the visitors to the Eucharistic Congress, but which will keep for a while as we glance at the progress of the Church.

Everyone knows that the nineteenth was, to say the least, an indifferent century for the Church in the United States. All the anti-Catholic movements spent themselves in assaults upon the Church, yet nevertheless she drove steadily on. As early as 1844 a bishop was required for the Illinois area and Right Rev. William Quarter, D. D., was named bishop of the diocese of Chicago with jurisdiction over the entire State. As time passed on, two, three, four, dioceses were carved out of the parent diocese and located at Alton, (since removed to Springfield) Peoria, Belleville and Rockford. In 1880 Chicago was raised to the rank of an archdiocese and the entire State constituted a province. But the greatest honor of all came when, in 1920, the Archbishop of Chicago was chosen as a prince of the Church, —George Cardinal Mundelein. As for progress it is said that the Chicago is the most numerous and the richest Catholic diocese in all the world. Its churches, schools, and charities are unsurpassed. During all the history of Chicago and of the State the Catholics have exceeded in number any other religious denomination and have equaled or exceeded the total of all other religious denominations combined. In Chicago itself it is certain that more than fifty per cent of the entire population is Catholic.

CHICAGO'S GREATEST HOLY DAY

The greatest day in all the history of Chicago's two hundred and fifty years is approaching,—the day upon which Father Marquette's, Bishop Quarter's and Cardinal Mundelein's Saviour and the Saviour of all of us will visit us specially in the Blessed Eucharist. To receive Him thousands, maybe hundreds of thousands, will come here to join us. How intimately the ceremonies and proceedings of this great congress will be linked with and woven into the history of the Church here will appear from the following:

HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE CONGRESS

Perhaps the greatest assemblage of the Congress will take place on the Lake Front, in the great modern Stadium. It was upon this self-same Lake Front that Father Marquette, two hundred and fifty years ago consecrated this land to Christ.

Succeeding ceremonies will take place at the University of St. Mary of the Lake, the wonderland of education that has arisen like magic under the hand of Cardinal Mundelein. Here history runs parallel with progress, for this same University of the Lake was first established upon the identical site of Father Marquette's cabin of 1674. For the establishment thereof the legislature of the State of Illinois passed a special charter in 1846 and the greater University of St. Mary of the Lake is operating under that identical charter. But more! The ground upon which Marquette's cabin was built, it will be remembered, became the first property of the Church in Chicago and the University of St. Mary of the Lake was established thereon. The first campus was the broad Lake Front. And, it may be said, this first property was literally transplanted to Mundelein, the new location, since the Marquette site, after having been held for more than three-quarters of a century, was sold for what seemed a fabulous price and the proceeds used in the purchase of a site for the university in the new location. The exchange was on the basis of more than a thousand acres to one. It is seen, therefore, that even the soil upon which the saintly missionary trod labored for the Church, convincing evidence of the benediction he pronounced upon our land. It is easy for us to believe that from his seat near the throne of Grace Marquette will be filled with joy on account of the special visit which Christ is to make in the Blessed Eucharist to his vineyard.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST

In the year 1873 a discovery of momentous importance was made in the Monastery of the Holy Sepulcher at Constantinople. An old manuscript volume was found there. Among the writings contained in it was a copy of a little book which had once been popular in the early Church and is freely quoted in the literature of that period. Like many other treasures, it disappeared from sight and was finally lost in the course of the centuries.

The book was discovered by the Greek Metropolitan Bryennios, who ten years later published it, producing a sensation in the theological world. It is now generally believed to have been written sometime between the years 80 and 100 of our era. Certainly it is the earliest Church manual in our possession. Eminent authorities consider it to be in fact the oldest work extant, after the New Testament itself.

The book is known under the significant title, "The Doctrine of the Apostles," in Greek "Didache." St. Athanasias, who died as late as the year 373, still mentions it in connection with the canonical Scriptures—not as included among them, but as a work which "the Fathers appointed to be read by those who have lately approached the Church and who are eager to be instructed and to learn pious doctrine." (Ep. xxxix.)

What particularly interests us here is the information contained in it regarding the Eucharist. This information was in no way meant to be complete. The essentials of the Liturgy, in which the reader of that day had been carefully drilled, are purposely omitted, as also any reference to the institution of the Holy Eucharist, the account of which could be gathered from the Scripture. Much, however, can be learned from the tiny volume.

The regular day for the assembly of the Faithful is given there as Sunday, "the Lord's Day," when all were present at the Eucharistic Sacrifice and received Holy Communion, after having first made their confession "in church" and composed whatever quarrels they may have had with each other. The Mass was doubtless still referred to at that time as the Breaking of Bread, but the word Eucharist ("Thanksgiving") was fast coming into common use. Both expressions, "to break bread" and "to give thanks," which at this period had direct reference to the Holy Mass, are found grouped together in the following quotation from the Didache:

“On every Day of the Lord (Sunday), after assembling, *break bread and give thanks* (i. e. offer the Divine Sacrifice), after you have confessed your sins that your *Sacrifice* be pure. Let no one who has a quarrel with his brother appear with you until after reconciliation, so that your Sacrifice may be undefiled. For the Lord hath said: ‘In every place there is sacrifice, and there is offered to my name a clean oblation, for my name is great among the Gentiles.’ ” (Ch. xiv.)

Written in the first century, this expresses the doctrine intelligible to every Catholic today. Even the Prophecy of Malachias (i. 11), on the Sacrifice of the Mass, is quoted precisely as it would be today by any modern Catholic author. The reference to confession before Mass is clear, if we remember that no one attended the Divine Sacrifice who did not also participate in Holy Communion. Such indeed is no less the desire of the Church in our own time.

But particularly interesting is the Eucharistic passage in Chapter IX, which I shall quote immediately. The reader of my previous articles will recall how portions of the synagogue service were adapted and retained by the Apostles as an introductory service to the purely Christian Sacrifice of the Mass. In the same way we have here a prayer evidently suggested by a Jewish blessing of bread and wine. The prayer was said between the Consecration and Communion of the Mass, for it is definitely stated that the Bread was already broken, which would be true only after the Consecration had taken place. I am giving the rubrics, as I may call them, of this early Liturgy, in italics, while the prayers themselves appear in plain type:

“Concerning the Eucharist render thanks thus:

“First for the Cup: We give thanks to Thee, Our Father, for the holy vine of Thy servant David, which Thou hast shown us through Thy servant Jesus. Glory be to Thee forever.

“But for the broken Bread: We give thanks to Thee, Our Father, for the life and wisdom Thou hast shown us through Thy Servant Jesus. Glory be to Thee forever.

“As this broken Bread was scattered over the hills and was gathered together and made one, so may the Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom. For Thine is the glory and power through Jesus Christ forever.”

The loaf, now changed into the Body of Christ, had originally been composed of countless grains gathered from all the hills where the wheat once waved and rippled in the sun. So into God’s Church were to be gathered the people from the ends of the earth to form one

Kingdom, one mystic body of Christ. Such is the beautiful Eucharistic symbolism of that prayer. And the writer then continues:

“But let no one eat or drink of our Eucharist except those who are baptized in the name of Jesus. For because of this the Lord said: Do not give holy things to dogs.” (Ch. iv.)

While the earliest date credibly assigned to this document is the year 80, yet the prayers I have quoted must have been familiar before that time, and were evidently in use when this booklet was composed. Apparently they were purely local and soon completely disappeared. Yet even here we meet with expressions that sound familiar to us, such as “Glory be to Thee forever,” and “Through Jesus Christ, etc.”

Notice may have been taken of a peculiar inversion of the order, the Chalice being mentioned before the Broken Bread. This may be accounted for in various ways, and may simply have been the work of the transcriber. After all, the same inversion can be found in St. Luke.

The tenth Chapter of the *Didache* gives us another prayer of thanksgiving. This to me seems clearly intended as a transition from the *Agape* to the Mass. It is introduced by the rubric: “After you are filled give thanks in this wise.” Naturally it refers to the love feast that preceded the Eucharist. The transition itself from the corporal to the spiritual banquet is contained in the passage:

“Thou Almighty Lord hast created all things for Thy Name’s sake, and Thou hast given men food and drink to enjoy that they may give thanks to Thee. And Thou hast given spiritual food and drink, and life everlasting.”

Moreover to the prayer is added a summons to prepare to receive Holy Communion in the Mass which was evidently to follow:

“Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If anyone be holy, let him approach. If he be not, let him repent. Maran-atha. Amen.”

Maran-atha is an Aramaic word meaning “Our Lord comes.” It can in fact be made a most fervent Communion prayer in itself—an act of living faith in the Divine Presence, an act of hope that we shall receive all bounties with the coming of the Eucharistic God and an act of charity or love because it expresses the longings of the soul for Him. *Maran-atha!* Christ our Lord comes to us!

We have retained in our Mass two of the three foreign words used in this short passage, namely: “Hosanna” and “Amen.” It seems a pity that we have lost that other beautiful expression which is so rich in its content. But there is much else in the last prayer familiar to us.

To me one of the most striking sentences in our liturgy of the Mass are the words, "We give Thee thanks for Thy great glory," our own prayer of thanksgiving in the Gloria. Yet precisely this same turn of thought will be found in the thanksgiving prayer of the first century. There it runs: "We give Thee thanks because Thou art mighty, Glory to Thee forever!"

From all that has been said it can be concluded that we have here certain liturgical prayers though probably confined to a limited number of churches in a definite locality. Sunday is seen to be the day when all the faithful hear Mass and receive Communion. The Mass is declared to be a true sacrifice. Baptism and confession of the sins committed thereafter are required as a condition for receiving the Eucharist. Incidentally we learn of Christ's visible Kingdom, the Church made up of many members from all parts of the earth, and are told of the appointment of "bishops and worthy deacons" who shall serve the altar. The *Agape* still precedes the Eucharist.

But there is another ritual reference in the Didache that must not be overlooked. It is contained in a brief sentence that follows the long prayer of thanksgiving: "But let the prophets give thanks as much as they will."

Perhaps the reader may at once sense the significance of these words. They imply that the liturgy from which the author of the Didache quoted belonged to the period of transition from what has been appropriately called the liturgy of the Holy Ghost to the set and formal liturgy of later days. It is midway between the earliest Apostolic times when the prayer of the celebrant depended largely on the inspiration of the moment, and the next few centuries when Mass-books, indeed, had not yet been written for use at the altar, but when the entire liturgy became more and more unvarying in the West and in the East.

In the present instance set prayers are already assigned, and yet the "prophets" are still free, as in Apostolic times, to speak out in public, during the Divine Service. They may utter the thoughts wherewith the Holy Ghost inspires them. In the liturgical descriptions that come to us from the second century no trace is any longer left of this. As Monsignor Duchesne wrote:

"It is evident that this ritual and these formularies come to us from a sphere widely different from that in which St. Justin and Clement composed their writings—from a sphere in which intense enthusiasm still prevailed. The prophets played an important role. . . . The inspiration could be felt. It sent a thrill through the souls of certain privileged persons. But the whole assembly was moved,

edified, and even more or less ravished by it and transported into a Divine sphere of the Paraclete."

The liturgical details given in the *Didache* may perhaps be best described as an eddy that formed outside of the normal current of liturgical development. The course of the latter we shall now follow through the period that still bordered most closely upon the Apostolic age. The two great Fathers of the Church to whom reference must be made in this connection are St. Clement of Rome, who died in the year 98, and St. Ignatius of Antioch, whose martyrdom took place in the year 107.

The First Letter of St. Clement to the Corinthians is a treasured document that was long read in the churches. It has many bearings upon the Holy Sacrifice. Christ Himself, he tells us—evidently referring to some unwritten tradition of that early time—"commanded that the offerings and services should be performed, not rashly nor in disorder, but at fixed times and hours." St. Clement further insists that each one must exactly observe "the appointed order of his services," which of course applies in a particular way to the Mass. "The Bishops," he writes, "have their own services designated, the priests are assigned their peecial places, and the deacons have their duties."

His writings are filled with numerous liturgical formulas still in use today. They may be said to be impregnated with liturgical expressions that have remained through all these centuries. Such, for instance, is the threefold *Sanctus* and the ending: "now and for generations of generations, and for ages of ages, Amen."

In fact when the writings of St. Clement are compared with the oldest written Liturgy or Mass we are confronted with a startling revelation. That Liturgy is now known as the Eighth Book of the "Apostolic Constitutions." It is the first missal—to use our modern and Western phraseology—and was written out during the fifth century in Syria. Before that, so far as we know, there had been no missals or *euchologia*—the name for liturgical books of the Greek rite—such as are now used at the altar in the churches of the East and the West.

But if this had implied previously a more or less fluid and changing liturgy, yet custom had soon sufficiently stabilized and traditionalized everything. But what was none the less startling was the discovery of the remarkable likeness between the liturgical expressions of St. Clement's Epistle and the actual formularies contained in the first written Mass known to us, as it was set down in Syria. We thus can see the close liturgical connection between the Mass of the first century and that of the fifth century, and so of our own time. "Not

only do the same ideas occur in the same order, but there are whole passages," says Adrian Fortescue, "and just those that in the First Epistle of St. Clement have most the appearance of liturgical formulae, that recur word for word in the Apostolic Constitutions."

Turning now to St. Ignatius of Antioch, Bishop and Martyr, a disciple of the Apostles, we find in his letters also many and clear references to the Holy Sacrifice. Generally, however, they are not of a liturgical nature. In particular he warns against the eucharistic services of the heretics and schismatics. "Be careful," he warns the faithful, "to use one Eucharist. For there is one Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and one Chalice in the unity of His Blood, and one sacrificial altar, as there is one Bishop with the priesthood and deacons." (Phil. iv.)

As for the heretics who fail to acknowledge that "the Eucharist is the Body of Our Saviour Jesus Christ," he bids the faithful not merely to avoid them, but to refrain from speaking to them "in public or in private" (Smyrn. vii.) It was thus the Apostles and the great Apostolic Fathers of the Church abhorred heresy. In the same spirit he condemns those who without due episcopal authorization would presume to offer up the Eucharist. "For no one," he explains, "can licitly celebrate except the Bishop and those authorized by him for that purpose." Such was the esteem of this first-century Father for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

The Holy Eucharist, he rightly insists, is to be for us the great bond of unity. Where, indeed, are the Faithful so closely united as at Holy Mass and in the reception of the Body and Blood of Christ Jesus, in Holy Communion? How completely St. Ignatius himself was lost in the love of his Eucharistic God is plain from what he writes in his letters, whose authenticity, I may add, is beyond all doubt or question. He says:

"I care no longer for corruptible food, nor for the pleasures of this life. I desire only the Bread of God, the Bread of Heaven, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, born of the race of David and Abraham. I desire the Drink of God, His Blood, which is Love incorruptible and Life without end."

There is no mistaking these words. So in our own time a St. Teresa of the Child Jesus might have sighed for her Eucharistic God. And could there be a more glorious confession of Faith in the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist! He is true man, as He comes to us here, for we partake of the "flesh of Jesus Christ," who is descended from David and from Abraham, while at the same time He is true God, for it is the "Bread of God" and the "Drink of

God," who is Love incorruptible—"God is love," says St. John—that is offered us here. Such was the faith of St. Ignatius in the Holy Mass and in Holy Communion.

And now, to delay no longer, tempting as these by-ways are, let us go directly to the most complete description of the liturgy of the Mass that has come down to us anywhere from the first centuries. It is found in the First Apology of St. Justin the Martyr.

St. Justin does not, like all the other writers I have so far considered, belong to the Apostolic age, and yet he closely touches upon it. He was born at about the close of the first century and lived in the half century that followed the death of St. John the Apostle. He was therefore almost a direct heir to the traditions of the Apostles. His conversion from paganism took place some time around the year 130, while he suffered martyrdom in Rome at about the year 167. He was the most prominent apologist of the early Church, having addressed two defenses of the Faith,—“Apologies” they are called,—to different Roman Emperors. He also took up the controversy with the Jews and wrote his “Dialogue with Trypho,” who in later years was described as the most prominent Jew of St. Justin’s time. These are the only works of Justin that now remain to us, although he wrote many more. It is the First Apology to which I shall confine myself here.

Long before the date of this Apology, which was written about the middle of the second century, the pagans had observed the Christian assemblies and regarded them with supreme distrust. A letter is still extant which was written by the pagan Governor of Bithynia, Pliny the Younger, to his imperial master, Trajan, about the year 112. Pliny summarizes the information gathered from Christians who had apostatized under torture. Being a pagan, he naturally did not understand what was told him about the Christian services, and possibly did not care very greatly. What he does report is that the Christians were wont to meet “before daybreak” for their devotions, and that later they came together again to “eat food.” It is this latter reference which alludes to their Mass and Communion, and possibly also to the *Agape*.

The Emperor Trajan here in question was the same under whose reign St. Ignatius of Antioch had been torn by the teeth of wild beasts, but the report of Pliny could add nothing to confirm the monarch’s evil suspicions.

It was perhaps some forty years after the events just described that Justin addressed his First Apology to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, to his adopted son and to the Roman Senate. His purpose was

to dispel the very same suspicions against Christians that still were alive in the minds of rulers and people. The best way to do this, Justin believed, was to make a full statement of the truth. Among other things, he consequently describes, rather minutely, what took place at the Christian assemblies—namely, the offering of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the reception of Communion.

St. Justin first gives an account of the Divine Sacrifice, then explains its meaning and institution, and after that returns to repeat his description of the Mass with the addition of new details. Being a philosopher, versed in all the subtleties of Greek thought, he was most likely to obtain a hearing and avert further persecution of the Christians. That was his immediate aim while ultimately he desired the conversion of well-meaning pagans.

In giving his report I shall try to present it as a single account, rearranging the various passages so as to give a chronological narrative. This, of course, will do no injury to the statement of facts. Naturally we are not to look here for a perfect and complete liturgical manual upon the Mass, but merely for such salient points as might satisfy and instruct the pagan mind. Since the passages quoted are all from sections LXV to LXVII of the First Apology, no further references will as a rule be necessary.

“On the day named after the Sun,” says Justin in the very last of the sections I have just mentioned, “all who live in the towns and in the country assemble in one place.” It is the Sunday Mass, already familiar to us from the *Didache*, and from the Epistles of St. Paul. Two reasons for the choice of this day are given by Justin. He writes:

“We all come together on the Day of the Sun because that is the first day, on which God, transforming darkness and matter, made the world.” That is the first reason. The second which he offers presents us with the real historic ground for the change from Sabbath to Sunday. “And Jesus Christ, Our Saviour,” he says, “on the same day rose from the dead. For they crucified Him on the eve of the day of Kronos. On the day after that of Kronos, which is the day of the Sun, He appeared to the Apostles and disciples, teaching them the things which I here offer for your consideration.”

Of the events which took place at these Sunday meetings—let us say about the year 150—we have the two brief descriptions to which I have previously referred. We are at the outset introduced to the assembled Faithful in company with the newly baptized convert who before had evidently not been permitted to attend Mass. But now, “thus cleansed,” and admitted into the Church, is led in to “those

who are called the brethren, where they are come together to say common prayers with eager devotion." These prayers are said, Justin further explains, "for ourselves, for him who has received the light (the newly baptized convert), and for all others everywhere, that after having learned to know the truth we may be found in deed good workers and faithful keepers of the Commandments, and thus come unto eternal salvation."

That is St. Justin's first description of the introductory part of the Mass, preceding the Offertory. Further details, however, are added to it in his second description, where he returns to the same portion of the Eucharistic service and explains:

"The commentaries of the Apostles on the writings of the Prophets are read as long as time permits. Then, when the lector has ended, he who presides (the Bishop is referred to by this expression) warns and exhorts us in a speech that dwells on the admirable truths brought to mind (by the reading). Then we all stand and send up our prayers."

The nature of these prayers has previously been described. St. Justin adds: "When our prayers have been said we greet each other with a kiss"—it is the "kiss of peace" which is mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures.

Putting together these details we recognize the first part of our own Mass services, with merely accidental differences. The Faithful participated then more fully in the "common prayers" than is now the case, but the whole trend of our modern liturgical movement in the Church today is to bring back these conditions, that the people may again participate as far as possible in the prayers recited at the altar by the priest. We have the reading also, which is now known as the Gospel and Epistle. Although these are read by the celebrant at the altar, the people can follow them in the pews. At solemn High Masses the Deacon and Subdeacon fulfill the same function as the reader. The sermon, too, ordinarily turns upon the Gospel read for the day. Finally, while reciting the prayers of the Mass, the priest still stands as in the days of the Apostles and of St. Justin, although kneeling for prayers has become the more ordinary position for the laity.

We see, then, that the portion of our Mass liturgy preceding the Offertory is substantially the same as it was in the middle of the second century, even as then it was still substantially the same as it had been in the days of the Apostles. In a word, there have been constant differences in minor details, but an equally constant uniformity of type and general outline through the centuries, no matter

by what name the Divine Sacrifice may at any period have been called.

That the substance of the Mass from the Offertory to the Communion is the same everywhere and at all times, needs no demonstration. It would not be the Divine Sacrifice if the Consecration and Communion as instituted by Christ were omitted. Yet even here there may be many differences in non-essentials. But what is most impressive is not the difference we may observe but the wonderful uniformity with which Christ's command regarding the Holy Mass is carried out through all the centuries from the first to the latest, in which we live: "Do this in commemoration of me."

Again St. Justin has two distinct descriptions of the Mass proper. Both of these I shall here quote in their entirety, but before doing so a short word of explanation may be necessary.

The reader unacquainted with the difference in terminology may be greatly perplexed at what in itself is perfectly plain to the initiated. The word "Mass" cannot of course occur at this period, nor yet the Eastern term for the Divine Sacrifice, the Liturgy or *Liturgia*. The common name in the Apostolic age was the Breaking of Bread. On all this I have dwelled at length in the preceding articles. To "break bread" ordinarily implied the same as in our day the expression to "say Mass." In the period with which now we deal, another expression, however, had apparently become more common.

Reading St. Justin and the writers nearest to his time, we find that the term used by them for the Mass as the "Eucharist," which when translated into English simply means the "Thanksgiving." Hence also the expressions to "make thanksgiving," to "render thanks," etc., are, in this context, equivalently the same as to "break bread" or to "say Mass." A slight limitation may perhaps be placed here, in as far as to "give thanks" may often have been taken somewhat more restrictedly, referring to the portion of the Mass beginning with what we now call the Preface and including the Consecration and the celebrant's Communion. All this may be found summed up under the simple expression: "The Thanksgiving (Eucharistic) Prayer."

With these explanations made, I shall proceed at once to the first of the two Mass descriptions I have mentioned, inserting, where necessary, the modern equivalent for the technical term used by St. Justin. This is not reading my meaning into the words of St. Justin, since in plainest terms he elsewhere tells us that what here takes place is the conversion of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. So, therefore, in the first description we read:

“Then bread and a cup of wine are brought (as at our Offertory) to the one presiding among the brethren (the Bishop), and he, taking them, sends up praise and glory to the Father of all through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and *makes Thanksgiving* at length because we are granted these favors by Him (i. e. ‘makes the Eucharist,’ namely, beginning with the Eucharistic prayer of Thanksgiving and including the Consecration and the celebrant’s own Communion). When he has ended the prayers and Thanksgiving (‘the Eucharist,’ i. e. the Mass proper), all the people present cry Amen. But the word ‘Amen’ in the Hebrew language means ‘so be it.’

“And after the one presiding (the Bishop) has made Thanksgiving (i. e. recited the prayer of thanksgiving, consecrated and communicated himself) and all the people have cried out, those who are called by us deacons give to each one present share in the Eucharistic (i. e. Consecrated) Bread and Wine and water (i. e. the wine was mingled with water before consecration, just as is still done in every Mass today) and carry them to those who are absent.”

It must be remembered that not more is stated here than it was suitable to mention to a pagan reader. The second description is more brief. It reads:

“When we have finished the prayer (including the whole introductory part of the Mass already described), bread is brought up, and wine and water. Then the one presiding sends up prayers and likewise Thanksgivings (again including all the essentials of the Sacrifice), as far as he has power, and all the people cry out, saying, Amen. Then each one receives a share in the distribution of the Eucharist, and it is taken to the absent by the deacons.”

If we reflect for a moment we shall realize that the language of St. Justin in speaking of the Blessed Sacrament is really our own, except that we have given an even wider application to the word “Thanksgiving.” We now comprehend under it the entire Sacrament, which we simply call the Eucharist, meaning nothing else, when translated, than the Thanksgiving. So, too, we speak of the Eucharist Sacrifice, the Eucharistic Bread, meaning the Thanksgiving Sacrifice, the Thanksgiving Bread. In a word, St. Justin is in reality using the language of the Catholic writer of today. That he also understands the nature of the Eucharist precisely as we do is plain from his explanation of the Eucharist given to the Emperor Antoninus Pius in the same chapter from which I have been quoting. He says:

“And this Food is called by us Eucharist, of which no one else may have a share except he who believes that our teaching is true and who has been cleansed by the washing (Baptism) for the forgiveness of sins and regeneration, and who so lives as Christ taught.”

In other words, to receive Holy Communion we must have first received the Sacrament of Baptism and must not be conscious of any mortal sin. He continues:

“For we do not receive these things as common bread or common drink. But as Jesus Christ Our Saviour was made flesh by a word of God, assuming human flesh and blood for our salvation, so by a word of prayer that comes from Him (the prayer at the Mass including the divinely given words of Consecration) the food, whereby our flesh and blood are nourished, made a Eucharist (i. e. transsubstantiated at the Mass), is changed into the Flesh and Blood of the Incarnate God.”

I have tried in this translation to make plain the sense of the original text. Whatever difficulties it contains, the one point of consequence is perfectly clear, that what we receive in Holy Communion is really the Body and Blood of Christ.

To make this still more palpable, so that even the pagan Emperor could not fail to understand the transsubstantiation that here takes place, i. e. “the change” from ordinary food into the Flesh and Blood of the Saviour, St. Justin explains for him the Institution itself of the Eucharist:

“For the Apostles, in the commentaries made by them, which are called Gospels, have handed down that in such wise they were taught: that Jesus, having taken bread and having given thanks, said: *Do this in memory of Me: This is My Body*. And in the same way, having taken the cup and having given thanks, He said: *This is My Blood*, and gave to them only.”

There in briefest words we have in substance the Institution of the Eucharist: the Command to repeat what Christ had done, the real change of the bread into His true Body and of the wine into His true Blood, and finally the Communion, which can be given to the Faithful only. So every page of these earliest Christian writers strengthens our faith. We know that we are one with the Apostles, one with the Fathers of the Church, one with the legions of the Martyrs and Confessors who have all partaken with us of the self-same Divine Banquet, of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, the Incarnate God, Our Redeemer.

The liturgy of the Mass depicted for us by St. Justin, the Martyr, closes with the contribution of alms for the poor and needy. He concludes:

“But the wealthy people who wish to do so give what they please, each one as he likes. What has been thus collected is given over to the one who presides (the Bishop), who supports orphans and widows, and those who are in straights through sickness or any other cause, and prisoners and strangers in their travel. In general he is the protector of all who are in want.”

So throughout the centuries the Church has continued her works of corporal mercy that are the outgrowth of that charity which is begotten and nourished by the Eucharist.

To resume then, let me give in brief the Mass liturgy as observed in the days of St. Justin, the middle of the second century, a period which stood in closest connection with the traditions and customs of the Apostles. The Faithful gathered on Sunday, those not yet baptized were evidently excluded. There was reading from the Sacred Books, including the Epistles of the Apostles. A sermon by the celebrant followed on what was practically the text of Gospel or Epistle. Then prayers were said by him, with the entire congregation standing and joining in. Finally the kiss of peace was given by the Faithful to each other. So the first part of the Mass concluded.

Next the elements for the Holy Sacrifice were brought in: bread, wine, and water—the latter to be mingled with the wine, since there is question of the Consecration of the bread and wine only. Then came the Thanksgiving, beginning with what today we call the Preface and including all the integral and essential parts of the Mass. When prayer corresponding to our Preface had been recited, the Consecration and the Communion by the celebrant followed in due course. This is clearly understood, since mention is immediately made concerning the distribution of the Bread and Wine, that had been consecrated at the Mass. All the Faithful, without exception, participated in the Body and Blood of Christ, after a prayer of intercession had been said for them, to which all with one voice responded, “Amen.”

When Holy Communion had been distributed under both forms by the deacons, the latter went forth to bring it also to those who through sickness, or possibly imprisonment for their Faith, could not be present at the Holy Sacrifice. The people, with all the fervor of their heart, welcomed the Divine Guest who had deigned to come to them. But they also remembered their brethren who stood in need. Those who were able gave of their means to the fund which the

Bishop administered, for he was the protector of all in want. So, then, the Faithful might piously return to their homes. Mass was over.

The details offered by other writers of this period fit in with the picture St. Justin has sketched. There is one author in particular whose writings contain many passing references of a liturgical nature. It is the Martyr St. Irenaeus, who still flourished towards the end of the second century. He himself tells us that he had learned his doctrine from the lips of St. Polycarp, who in turn had directly received it from the Apostle St. John and from others "who had seen the Lord." We are therefore kept by him in close touch with the age of the Apostles. In fact, it may be well to quote here the famous letter which Irenaeus wrote to Florinus, since it will serve as the best illustration of how faithfully and carefully the doctrine of Christ and His Apostles was preserved in Catholic tradition by the men of this period. The Saint tells Florinus:

"When I was a boy I saw thee in Asia with Polycarp. . . . I am able to describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp sat as he discoursed . . . and the accounts which he gave of his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord, and concerning His miracles and teachings, having received them from eye-witnesses of the Word of Life. Polycarp related all things in harmony with the Scriptures.

"These things were told me by the mercy of God, and I listened to them attentively, noting them down, not on paper but in my heart."

Irenaeus quotes the words of the Consecration, and sees in the Holy Mass, or "Eucharist" as he too calls it, the verification of the clean Oblation foretold by Malachias. He alludes to sermon, hymns and Offertory. In particular he inveighs against the heretics who from the days of the Apostles have always been at work seeking to tear the seamless robe of Christ.

"The Jews no longer offer sacrifice," he says, "as for the heretics, how can they give assurance that the bread over which Thanksgiving has been made (i. e. the Eucharistic prayers and words of Consecration have been spoken) is really the Body of their Lord, and the chalice His Blood, when they do not recognize Him as the Son of their Creator." (*Adv. Haer.*)

There is plainly no doubt in the mind of St. Irenaeus that the bread and wine, as he writes further on in the same treatise, "become the Eucharist of the Body and Blood of Christ," so that these

corruptible bodies which were privileged to partake of that Divine Food, "after they have been buried and dissolved, will rise again in due course."

But there is one more detail which calls for fuller explanation. It is Holy Communion as received by the laity at this period. That the Eucharist was given to the Faithful under both species, St. Justin clearly states in the passages I have quoted. He there also specifies the function of the deacons in its distribution. For more minute particulars, however, we must turn to the writers of a somewhat later age.

In the early Church the Consecrated Bread, as we know, was broken for distribution among all those present. The Sacred Chalice may at first have been passed from hand to hand. To judge by various early references, the Broken Communion Bread was distributed either by the celebrant or by the deacons, in conformity, doubtless, with different local customs or circumstances. According to Tertullian, who was born in the year 160, the celebrant himself gave the Body of the Lord to the Faithful, the deacons presented the Chalice. We can readily understand how there may have been considerable variety in the administration of the Eucharist at this time.

Even in the early days of the Church, it would seem, the Consecrated Bread was given directly into the hands of the Faithful. The women, according to a somewhat later account, covered their hands with a small linen cloth and thus received the Lord, as today the Sacred Body rests on the corporal. The men certainly received the Consecrated Bread on their bare hands. Both men and women then gave Holy Communion to themselves, even as does the priest.

Tertullian alludes to the great care taken by the Christians that no particles should fall to the ground. St. Cyprian, a little later, gives the instance of a man who "received his share of the Sacrifice celebrated by the priest," without having first confessed a secret sin that was still upon his conscience. As a consequence, he "could neither hold nor consume the Holy Thing of the Lord, for on opening his hand he found that he held ashes." (*De Lapsis*.)

But not only were the Faithful allowed to hold the Consecrated Bread in their hands, but they were allowed to take home the Blessed Sacrament under the species of bread, as Tertullian mentions, and there receive it fasting. (*Ad Uxor.* ii. 5.) Exhorting a Christian woman not to marry a pagan husband, he warns her of the suspicions that would be aroused in her husband's mind when he would see her communicating herself before she took any other food. And he re-

calls, in this connection, the pagan belief that the Christians received in the Eucharist "bread dipped in the blood of a child."

In the same way St. Cyprian narrates the story of a certain woman who, "when she opened her casket, in which was contained the Holy Thing of the Lord, was deterred from touching it by the flames that burst from it." (*De Lapsis*.) Elsewhere, too, St. Cyprian insists upon the reverence due the Reserved Sacrament on the part of those who carry it with them. We have here an early indication, as it were, of the now more minutely developed devotion to the Reserved Eucharist, which is practiced everywhere in the Church today. Yet the Christians of those first centuries were no less aware than we of the Divine Presence in the Sacrament that they carried with them to their homes and of which they there partook with the utmost worship and devotion. How common this practice was at any given period is quite another question, which is not so easily answered. In place of the Ciborium, containing the small consecrated Hosts in our tabernacles, wicker baskets, beautifully shaped, seem to have been very generally used in the early Church for the Consecrated Loaves.

Passing now for further details to a rather later age, we find a complete description of Holy Communion in the famous instruction to Catechumens, by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who died in the year 386. His minute explanations of how Communion under both species was to be received by the men and women of his day, according to the ceremonies of the Church then in use, are most interesting and will help us also to understand more perfectly the Communion of the earlier period here under consideration. St. Cyril first explains the method of receiving Our Divine Lord under the species of bread:

"When you shall have heard the invitation (which was given in the words: 'Holy things for the holy; holy things for the saints'), come to the altar, not with your hands extended, or the fingers spread out (for the Sacred Body of the Lord was placed in the opened right hand); but place your left hand under your right, as if a throne on which to receive your King. After you shall have received the Body of the Lord in the hollow of the hand, answer 'Amen'."

In the reception of the Precious Blood by the Faithful, the following method is prescribed by St. Cyprian, as evidently the custom of his day:

"After the Communion of the Body of Christ, come to the Chalice of the Lord with hands joined, bow the head as an act of veneration and adoration, and say 'Amen,' in order that you may be sanctified in receiving the Blood of Jesus Christ."

It was clear, of course, to the early Christians that Communion under one form, as now prescribed for the laity, suffices. It was in this way that the first Christians themselves received it in their homes, whither it was taken by them or brought by the deacon under the form of bread alone. On the other hand, we know it also to have been given to infants under the species of wine alone, since this was obviously the more respectful way. The priest dipped his finger into the Precious Blood and a drop was placed on the infant's tongue. There is no reason why this beautiful custom could not be revived, if the Church so deemed it well for our times.

The glorified Christ, who comes to us in Holy Communion, can now no longer be divided. Whether we receive Him under the species of bread or under the species of wine, He is present whole and entire, Body and Blood, soul and Divinity. We receive neither more nor less whether He comes to us under one form only or under both. There is, of course, a special significance in the twofold Consecration at the Mass, as ordained by Christ, while the twofold Communion is likewise of obligation for the celebrant. But in regard to the laity it is left to the Church to determine what method should be followed to secure the greatest reverence for the Sacrament at any given period of time.

In every century the Church has striven to honor as best she could her Eucharistic God, from the first Masses in the Cenacle to the Eucharistic Congress at Chicago.

JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S. J.

TO RECEIVE THE BLESSED BODY OF OUR LORD SACRAMENTALLY AND VIRTUALLY BOTH

A treatise to receive the Blessed Body of Our Lord Sacramentally and Virtually both, made in the year of Our Lord, 1534, by Sir Thomas More Knight, while he was prisoner in the Tower of London, which he entitled thus as followeth:—

They receive the Blessed Body of Our Lord both Sacramentally and Virtually which in due manner and worthily receive the Blessed Sacrament. When I say worthily, I mean not that any man is so good or can be so good, that his goodness could make him of very right and reason worthy to receive into his vile, earthly body, that Holy, Blessed, Glorious Flesh and Blood of Almighty God Himself, with is Celestial Soul therein, and with the Majesty of His Eternal Godhead: but that he may prepare himself, working with the Grace of God, to stand in such a state as the incomparable goodness of God will of His liberal bounty, vouchsafe to take and accept for worthy to receive His own inestimable, Precious Body into the body of so simple a servant.

Such is the wonderful bounty of Almighty God, that He not only doth vouchsafe, but also doth delight, to be with men, if they prepare to receive Him with honest and clean souls, whereof He saith, *Deliciae meae esse cum filiis hominum*. My delight and pleasures are to be with the sons of men.

And now can we doubt, that God delighteth to be with the sons of men, when the Son of God, and very Almighty God Himself, liked not only to become the Son of Man, that is to-wit, the son of Adam, the first man, but over that, in His innocent manhood, to suffer His painful Passion for the Redemption and Restitution of man.

In remembrance and memorial whereof, He disdaineth not to take for worthy such men, as wilfully make not themselves unworthy, to receive the self-same Blessed Body into their bodies, to the inestimable wealth of their Souls; and yet of His High Sovereign patience, He refuseth not to enter bodily into the vile bodies of those whose

filthy minds refuse to receive Him graciously into their Souls. But then do such folk receive Him only Sacramentally, and not Virtually, that is, to-wit, they receive His very Blessed Body into theirs under the Sacramental Sign, but they receive not the thing of the Sacrament, that is, to-wit, the Virtue and the Effects thereof, that is to say, the Grace by which they should be lively members incorporate in Christ's Holy Mystical Body. But instead of that live Grace, they receive their Judgment and their Damnation. And some such by the outrageous enormity of their deadly sinful purpose, in which they presume to receive that Blessed Body, deserve to have the devil (through the sufferance of God) personally so to enter into their breasts, that they never have the Grace after to cast him out; but like as a man with bridle and spur rideth and ruleth a horse, and maketh him go which way he list to guide him, so doth the devil by his inward suggestions govern and guide the man, and bridle him from all good, and spur him into all evil, till he finally drive him to all mischief, as he did the false traitor, Judas, that sinfully received that Holy Body, whom the devil did therefore first carry out about the traitorous death of the self-same Blessed Body of his most loving Master; which he so late so sinfully received, and within a few hours after, unto the desperate destruction of himself.

And, therefore, have we great cause with great dread and reverence to consider well the state of our own soul, when we shall go to the Board of God, and as near as we can (with the help of His special Grace diligently prayed for before) purge and cleanse our souls by Confession, Contrition, and Penance, with full purpose of forsaking from thenceforth the proud desires of the devil, the greedy covetousness of wretched worldly wealth, and the foul affection of the filthy flesh, and being in full mind to persevere, and continue in the ways of God, and holy cleanness of Spirit; lest that, if we presume so unreverently to receive this precious Margarite, this pure Pearl, the Blessed Body of our Saviour Himself, contained in the Sacramental sign of bread, that like a sort of swine, rioting in the dirt, and wallowing in the mire, we tread It under the filthy feet of our foul affections, while we set more by them than by It, intending to walk and wallow in the puddle of foul, filthy sin; therewith, the legion of devils may get leave of Christ so to enter into us, as they got leave of Him to enter into the hogs of Genezareth; and as they ran forth with them, and never stinted till they drowned them in the sea, so run on with us (but if God of His great mercy refrain them, and give us

the grace to repent), else, not fail to drown us in the deep sea of everlasting sorrow.

Of this great outrageous peril, the blessed Apostle St. Paul giveth us gracious warning, where he saith in his first Epistle to the Corinthians: "*Quicumque manducaverit panem vel biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini*"; "Whosoever eat the Bread, or drink the Cup of Our Lord unworthily, he shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of Our Lord." Here is (good Christian readers) a dreadful and terrible sentence, that God here (by the mouth of His holy Apostle) giveth against all them, that unworthily receive this most Blessed Sacrament, that their part shall be with Pilate and the Jews, and with that false traitor Judas; sith God reputeth the unworthy receiving and eating of His Blessed Body, for a like heinous offence against His Majesty, as He accounteth theirs that wrongfully and cruelly killed Him.

And therefore to the intent, that we may avoid well this importable danger, and in such wise receive the Body and Blood of Our Lord, as God may of His goodness accept us for worthy, and therefore not only enter with His Blessed Flesh and Blood Sacramentally and Bodily into our bodies, but also with His Holy Spirit graciously and effectually into our souls, St. Paul, in the place afore remembered, saith: *Probet seipsum homo; et sic de pane illo edat et de calice bibat*; Let a man prove himself and so eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup. But then in what wise shall we prove ourselves? We may not go rashly to God's Board but by a convenient time taken before. We must (as I began to say) consider well, and examine surely what state our soul standeth in. In which thing it will be not only right hard, but also peradventure impossible, by any possible diligence of ourself, to attain unto the very full undoubted surety thereof without special revelation of God. For as the Scripture saith, *Nemo vivens scit utrum odio vel amore dignus sit* (Eccle. 7), No man living knoweth whether he be worthy of the favor or hatred of God; and in another place: *Etiamsi simplex fuero hoc ipsum ignorabit anima mea* (Job 9), If I be simple, that is to say without sin, that shall not my mind surely know. But God, yet in this point, is of His high goodness content, if we do the diligence that we can, to see that we be not in the purpose of any deadly sin. For though it may be that for all our diligence God (whose eyes pierceth much more deeper into the bottom of our heart than our own doth), may see therein some such sin as we cannot see there ourselves, for which St. Paul saith: *Nullius mihi conscius sum sed non in hoc justificatus sum* (1

Cor. 4) ; In my own conscience I know nothing, but yet am I not thereby justified? Yet our true diligence done in the search, God of His high bounty so far forth accepteth, that He imputeth not any such secret lurking sin unto our charge, for an unworthy receiving of this Blessed Sacrament, but rather the strength and virtue thereof purgeth and cleanseth that sin. In this proving and examination of ourselves, which St. Paul speaketh of, one very special point must be to prove and examine ourselves, and see that we be in the right faith and belief concerning that Holy Blessed Sacrament Itself; that is, to-wit, that we verily believe that It is, as indeed It is, under the form and likeness of bread, the very Blessed Body, Flesh, and Blood of Our Holy Saviour Christ Himself, the very self-same Body, and the very self-same Blood, that died and was shed upon the Cross for our sin, and the third day gloriously did rise again to life, and with the souls of Holy Saints set out of Hell ascended up wonderfully into Heaven, and there sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and shall visibly descend in great glory to judge the Quick and the Dead, and reward all men after their works.

We must (I say) see that we firmly believe that this Blessed Sacrament is not a bare sign, or a figure, or a token of that Holy Body of Christ, but that It is in perpetual remembrance of His bitter passion, that He suffered for us, the self-same precious Body of Christ that suffered it, by His own Almighty power and unspeakable goodness consecrated and given unto us.

And this point of belief is in the receiving of this Blessed Sacrament of such necessity, and such weight with them that have years of discretion, that without it they receive It plainly to their damnation. And that point, believed very full and fastly, must needs be a great occasion to move any man in all other points to receive-It well. For note well the words of St. Paul therein: *Qui manducat de hoc pane, et bibit de calice indigne iudicium sibi manducat et bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini* (2 Cor. 11) ; He that eateth of this Bread and drinketh of this Cup, unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment upon himself in that he discerneth not the Body of Our Lord.

Lo, here, this Blessed Apostle well declareth that he, which in any wise unworthily receiveth this most excellent Sacrament, receiveth It unto his own damnation, in that he well declareth by his evil demeanor towards It, in his unworthy receiving of It, that he discerneth It not, nor judgeth It, nor taketh It, for the very Body of Our Lord, as indeed It is. And verily it is hard but, that, this

point deeply rooted in our breasts, should set all our hearts in a fervor of devotion toward the worthy receiving of that Blessed Body.

But, surely, there can be no doubt on the other side, but that if any man believe that It is Christ's very Body, and yet is not inflamed to receive Him devoutly thereby, that man were likely to receive this Blessed Sacrament very coldly, and far from all devotion, if he believed that It were not His Body, but only the bare token of Him, instead of His Body.

But now having the full faith of this point fastly grounded in our heart, that the thing which we receive is the very Blessed Body of Christ, I trust there shall not greatly need any great information further to teach us, or any great exhortation further to stir and excite us, with all humble manner and reverent behaviour to receive Him. For, if we will but consider, if there were a great worldly prince, which for special favor that he bare us, would come visit us in our own house, what a business we would then make, and what a work it would be for us to see that our house were trimmed up in every point to the best of our possible power, and everything so provided and ordered that he should by his honorable receiving perceive what affection we bear him, and in what high estimation we have him. We should soon see by the comparing of that worldly prince and this Heavenly Prince together (between which twain is far less comparison than is between a man and a mouse), inform and teach ourself with how lowly, how tender loving heart, how reverent humble manner we should endeavor ourself to receive this glorious, heavenly King, the King of all Kings, Almighty God Himself, that so lovingly doth vouchsafe to enter, not only into our house (to which the noble man Centurio knowledged himself unworthy), but His Precious Body into our vile wretched carcass, and His Holy Spirit into our poor simple soul. What diligence can here suffice us? What solicitude can we think here enough against the coming of this Almighty King, coming for so special gracious favor not to put us to cost, not to spend of ours, but to enrich us of His, and, that after so manifold deadly displeasure done Him so unkindly by us, against so many of His incomparable benefits before done unto us. How would we now labor, that the house of our soul (which God were coming to rest in) should neither have any poisoned spider or cobweb of deadly sin hanging in the roof, nor so much as a straw or a feather of any light lewd thought, that we might spy on the floor, but that we would sweep it away.

But for as much (good Christian readers) as we neither can attain this great point of Faith, nor any other virtue, but by the Special Grace of God of whose high goodness every good thing cometh. (For as St. James saith: *Omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum, desursum-est descendens a Patre luminum*. Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above descending from the Father of Lights.) Let us therefore pray for His gracious help in the attaining of His Faith, and for His help in the cleansing of our soul against His coming, that He may make us worthy to receive Him worthily. And ever let us of our own part fear our unworthiness, and on His part trust boldly upon His goodness, if we are slow not to work with Him for our own part. For if we willingly upon the trust and comfort of His goodness leave our own endeavor undone, then is our hope, no hope, but a very foul presumption.

Then, when we come unto His Holy Board, into the Presence of His Blessed Body, let us consider His high glorious Majesty, which His high goodness there hideth from us, and the proper form of His Holy Flesh covereth under the form of bread, both to keep us from abashment, such as we could not peradventure abide, if we (such as we yet be) should see and receive Him in His own Form, such as He is, and also for the increase of the merit of our Faith in the obedient belief, of that thing at His commandment, whereof our eyes and our reason seem to show us the contrary.

And yet, for as much as although we believe it, yet is there therein many of us, that believe very faint, and far from the point of such vigor and strength, as would God it had, let us say unto Him with the father that had the dumb son: *Credo, Domine, adjuva incredulitatem meam?* (Mark 9) ; I believe, Lord, but help thou my lack of belief, and with His blessed Apostle, *Domine, adauge nobis fidem* (Luke 17), Lord increase Faith in us. Let us also with the poor publican, in knowledge of our own unworthiness, say with all meekness of heart, *Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori* (Luke 18) ; Lord God, be merciful to me, sinner that I am. And with the Centurio, *Domine non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum* (Math 8) ; Lord I am not worthy, that thou shouldst come into my house. And yet with all this remembrance of our own unworthiness, and therefore with great reverence, fear and dread for our own part, let us not forget on the other side to consider His inestimable goodness, which disdaineth not for all our unworthiness to come unto us, and to be received of us, but likewise as at the sight or receiving of this excellent memorial of His death (for in the remembrance thereof doth He thus conse-

erate, and give His own Blessed Flesh and Blood unto us), we must with tender compassion remember and call to mind the bitter pains of His most painful Passion. And yet therewith, all rejoice and be glad in the consideration of His incomparable kindness, which in His so suffering for us, to our inestimable benefit, He showed and declared toward us. So must we be sore afraid of our own unworthiness, and yet therewith be right glad and in great hope at the consideration of His unmeasurable goodness.

Luke 1.—St. Elizabeth at the visitation and salutation of Our Blessed Lady, having by revelation the sure inward knowledge that Our Lady was conceived with Our Lord, albeit that she was herself such as also for the diversity between their ages, she well might and would have thought it but convenient and meetly, that her young cousin should come visit her, yet now because she was Mother to Our Lord, she was sore marvelled of her visitation, and thought herself far unworthy thereto, and therefore said unto her, *Unde hoc ut veniat Mater Domini mei ad me*. Whereof is this, that the Mother of Our Lord should come to me? But yet for all the abashment of her own unworthiness, she conceived thoroughly such a glad blessed comfort, that her holy child, St. John the Baptist, hopped in her womb for joy, whereof she said, *Ut facta est vox salutationis tue in auribus meis, exultabit gaudio infans in utero meo*. As soon as the voice of thy salutation was in mine ears, the infant in my womb leapt for joy. Now, like as St. Elizabeth, by the spirit of God, had those holy affections both of reverent considering her own unworthiness in the visitation of the Mother of God, and yet for all that so great inward gladness therewith, let us at this great high visitation, in which not the Mother of God, as come to St. Elizabeth, but one incomparably more excelling the Mother of God, than the Mother of God passed St. Elizabeth, doth so vouchsafe to come and visit each of us with His most Blessed Presence, that He cometh not into our house but into ourself, let us, I say, call for the help of the same Holy Spirit, that then inspired her, and pray Him at this high and Holy visitation so to inspire us, that we may both be abashed with the reverent dread of our own unworthiness, and yet therewith conceive a joyful consolation and comfort in the consideration of God's inestimable goodness. And that each of us, like, as we may well say, with great reverent dread and admiration, *Unde hoc, ut veniat Dominus meus ad me*; Whereof is this, that my Lord should come unto me? And not only unto me, but also *into me*, so we may with glad heart truly

say at the sight of His Blessed Presence, *exultabit gaudio infans in utero mco*, the child in my body, that is, to-wit, the soul in my body (that should be then such a child in innocency, as was that innocent infant, St. John), leapeth, good Lord, for joy.

Now when we have received Our Lord and have Him in our body, let us not then let Him alone, and get us forth about other things, and look no more unto Him (for little good could he, that so would serve any guest), but let all our business be about Him. Let us by devout prayer talk to Him, by devout meditation talk with Him. Let us say with the prophet, *Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus*, I will hear what Our Lord will speak within me. (Psalm 54.)

For surely, if we set aside all other things, and attend unto Him, He will not fail with good inspirations, to speak such things to us, within us, as shall serve to the great spiritual comfort and profit of our soul. And therefore let us with Martha provide, that all our outward business may be pertaining to Him, in making cheer to Him, and to His company for His sake, that is, to-wit, to poor folk of which He taketh every one not only for His disciple, but also as for Himself. For Himself saith: *Quamdiu fecisti uni de his fratribus meis minimis mihi fecistis* (Math. 25); That, that you have done to one of the least of these, My brethren, you have done it to Myself. And let us with Mary, also sit in devout meditation, and hearken well what Our Saviour, being now our Guest, will inwardly say unto us. Now have we a special time of prayer, while He that hath made us, He that hath bought us, He whom we have offended, He that shall judge us, He that shall either damn us, or save us, is of His great goodness become our Guest, is personally present within us, and that for none other purpose, but to be used unto for pardon, and so thereby to save us. Let us not lose this time, therefore, suffer not this occasion to slip, which we can little tell, whether ever we shall get it again, or never. Let us endeavor ourself to keep Him still, and let us say with His two disciples that we are going to the Castle of Emmaus: *Mane nobis-cum Domine* (Mark 14). Tarry with us, good Lord, and then shall we be sure that He will not go from us, but if we unkindly put Him from us. Let us not pray, like the people of Genesareth, which prayed Him to depart out of their quarters, because they lost their hogs by Him, when instead of hogs, He saved the man out of whom He cast a legion of devils, that after destroyed the hogs. Let not us likewise rather put God from us by unlawful love of worldly winning, or foul filthy lust, rather than for the profit of our soul to

forbear it. For sure may we be, that when we are such, God will not tarry with us, but we put Him unkindly from us. Nor let us not do as did the people of Jerusalem, which on Palm Sunday received Christ royally and full devoutly, with Procession; and on the Friday after put Him to a shameful Passion. On the Sunday cried, *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*, Blessed be He that cometh in the name of Our Lord, and on the Friday cried out: *Non hunc sed Barabbam* (Mark 21, Mark 13, Luke 19, John 12). We will not have Him but Barabbas. On the Sunday cried, *Hosanna in excelsis*, and on the Friday, *Tolle, Tolle, Crucifige Eum*.

Sure, if we receive Him never so well, nor never so devoutly at Easter, yet whensoever we fail after to such wretched sinful living as casteth our Lord in such wise out of our souls, as His grace tarryeth not with us, we show ourself to have received Him in such manner as those Jews did, for we do as much as in us, to Crucify Christ again: *Iterum* (saith St. Paul), *crucifigentes filium Dei* (Heb. 6).

Let us (good Christian readers) receive Him in such wise, as did the good publican, Zacchaeus, which when he longed to see Christ, and because he was but low of stature, did climb up into a tree. Our Lord seeing his devotion called unto him, and said: "Zachee, come off and come down, for this day must I dwell with thee." And he made haste and came down, and very gladly received Him into his house. But, not only received Him with a joy of a light and fond feeling affection, but that it might well appear that he received Him with a sure, earnest, virtuous mind, he proved it by his virtuous works. For, he forthwith was contented to make recompense to all men that he had wronged, and that in a large manner; for every penny a groat, and yet offered to give out also forthwith the one-half of all his substance unto poor men, and that forthwith also; by and by, without any longer delay. And, therefore, he said not, Thou shalt hear, that I shall give it, but he said: *Ecce dimidium bonorum meorum do pauperibus*. Lo, look good Lord, the one-half of my goods I do give unto poor men.

With such alacrity, with such quickness of spirit, with such gladness and such spiritual rejoicing as this man received Our Lord into his house, Our Lord give us the Grace to receive His Blessed Body and Blood, His Holy Soul and His Almighty Godhead both, into our bodies and into our souls, that the fruit of our good works may bear witness unto our conscience, that we receive Him worthily and in

such a full Faith, and such a stable purpose of good living, as we be bounden to owe. And then shall God give a gracious sentence, and say upon our soul, as He said upon Zacheus: *Hodie salus facta est huic domui* (Luke 19); This day is health and salvation come unto this house; which that Holy Blessed Person of Christ, which we verily in the Blessed Sacrament receive, through the merit of His bitter Passion (whereof He hath ordained His own Blessed Body in that Blessed Sacrament to be the memorial), vouchsafe good Christian readers, to grant unto us all.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Eucharistic Congress Number.—This number of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW is devoted exclusively to the coming sessions of the Twenty-eighth International Eucharistic Congress to be held in Chicago, June 20-24, 1926.

It is entirely fitting that an historical publication should be made a vehicle for the record of this event since it is history of the first magnitude.

The Congress takes historic rank because it deals with and constitutes a reaffirmation of the first and most important principle of a two-thousand-year-old culture—Christianity. It is historical because it elicits the interest of the whole world. It is a national historic event since it brings the United States to the altitude of the European nations which have heretofore undertaken such a stupendous event. As for Chicago and its history nothing which has occurred heretofore has brought that young city into such world-wide prominence or done so much to rank it amongst the great cities of the world.

To exclude everything from this issue but Eucharistic Congress matter has, of course, interrupted our regular routine, but we feel that both readers and contributors will agree with us that such a course is fully justified.

Incidentally, special attention is asked for the quite remarkable articles contained in this number. We are very proud, justly we think, of these splendid efforts and are quite convinced our readers will fully appreciate them.

The Dominant Idea.—Who would dare forecast the results of the Eucharistic Congress? There are many reasons for believing that these results will be prodigious. Let the mind dwell upon this extraordinary manifestation and so many novel considerations present themselves as to surprise, even to astound reasonably well-informed and thoughtful people.

At the very outset one is led to wonder why, during all the years reaching from childhood to manhood and even to maturity, the tremendous significance of the Holy Eucharist has never so forcefully presented itself as it now appears, even before the notable demonstration. As members, humble or otherwise, of the body of the Church most of us have grown up and in general taken the Eucharist in Holy Communion as more or less a matter of course. On occasion, as the result of an eloquent sermon or scholarly discourse we have been especially impressed with the doctrine of the "Real Presence," the potency of the Sacrament, and the superhuman relationship with Divinity; but have not even the mere preparations, to which publicity has been given, inspired more serious thought and brought a stronger realization of the transcendence of the Eucharistic Doctrine?

Indeed, when analyzed, it becomes plain that the Holy Eucharist is the dominant idea of our civilization; for regard other cultures such as paganist or oriental as one may, so far as our civilization is concerned Christianity is the key.

Now all Christendom acknowledges the Eucharistic Doctrine and for all Christians, whether covered into the body of any church or denomination, the basic factor is the Eucharist. Take away the Eucharist from any group of

Christian principles and nothing remains. As well think of a human body without a heart as of Christianity without the Eucharist.

It is true that different teachings and practices exist in different Christian denominations but in none is it questioned that the Body and Blood of Christ are the essential sustenance of the spiritual life and the prime aid to a happy Eternity.

It is an argument of stupendous power that ever since that first Holy Thursday, when Christ took bread and wine and consecrating them said to his Apostles, "This is My Body and this is My Blood," the unwavering doctrine of the Catholic Church has been that these words were absolutely true. Through a period of nearly two thousand years that doctrine has been held and taught by the profoundest men of every age and has been the official dictum of the Catholic Church. Regard it as critics and doubters may, the Catholic Church has held Christ's words literally true and in accordance with the command of Christ to His Apostles and their successors to "do this in remembrance of Me" it remains not a theory, not a figure, not a representation but an actual fact, that throughout the world "from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof" bread and wine have been and are transformed by the power of God into the real Body and Blood of Christ. True, non-Catholic denominations have modified this doctrine in certain particulars but the Catholic Church firmly maintains it. Any reasonable person can readily see that should the Catholic Church deviate from this doctrine its fabric would crumble, nothing would remain. Indeed, every other teaching of Christianity is but incidental to this one dominating, stupendous fact. On the other hand, almost any other doctrine of religion, ethics or philosophy may be disregarded without disaster or without serious consequences; for instance, Baptism, although an essential of Salvation, may be acquired by desire, blood, fire, etc., but without belief, grounded upon faith or philosophy, in the Holy Eucharist, there is no Christian, no Catholic.

These observations are not made from a theological standpoint. This writer is not qualified to speak from any such a basis. They are intended only to emphasize the historic fact that belief in the "Real Presence" of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist has been the controlling thought of our two thousand years of civilization and that all progress is built upon that basis.

What wonder then that this great conclave at which enduring and unqualified belief in the Eucharistic Doctrine is to be acknowledged and reaffirmed has stirred the whole world. Is it not plain that the Congress is to be a most important historical event?

MUSICAL PROGRAM

The Eucharistic Congress will be formally opened on Sunday, June 20, in the Cathedral of the Holy Name, by his eminence, Cardinal Bonzano, papal legate. The music on this occasion will include St. Thomas Aquinas' magnificent hymn, "Lauda Sion Salvatorem," written in the year 1264, in its original Gregorian setting, sung by the combined choirs. Pietro Yon's contrapuntal "Missa Solemnis" is to be given with chorus, orchestra, and organ, the Offertorium being Palestrina's "Sacerdotes Domini," in five part counterpoint of the fifth species.

SERVICES IN THE STADIUM

On the following morning the service will take place at the stadium, where no less than 62,000 children are slated to sing the mass known to Catholic choirmasters as the Eighth Mass on the Fifth and Sixth Modes, "De Angelis," with the Third Credo (Graduale Romanum). This is a wonderful old treasure of churchly music, and sufficiently familiar to singers and listeners alike. Accompaniments will be furnished by an out of doors organ and trumpets. Following the "Proper" Offertorium, Dr. Browne's "Panis Angelicus" will be sung.

The stadium will also be the scene of services on Tuesday. With the same accompaniment as the day before, Carnevali's "Missa Rosa Mystica" will be sung by a great choir of sisters and women of many parishes. The next day, Wednesday, will be higher educational day, and Sir John Singenberger's "Mass in Honor of St. Francis of Assisi," a melodious and effective composition, will be sung by a choir of high school girls.

The mass selected for the closing of the Congress at Mundelein, Ill., will be Refice's "Missa Choralis," written for three part, men's voices, with a unison chorus used antiphonally. Mundelein seminarians will sing the harmonies, and a group of first year philosophy students from Techny seminary the unisons. There will be an orchestra of fifty for the accompaniments.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION,
ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF
AUGUST 24, 1912,

Of ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, published quarterly at Chicago,
Illinois, for October 1, 1925.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, COUNTY OF COOK—SS.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared, Francis J. Rooney, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Illinois Catholic Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.

Editor, Joseph J. Thompson, Chicago, Ill.

Managing Editor, Joseph J. Thompson, Chicago, Ill.

Business Manager, Francis J. Rooney, Chicago, Ill.

2. That the owner is: The Illinois Catholic Historical Society, Chicago, Ill., Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, S. J., Pres., Chicago, Ill., J. P. V. Murphy, Treas., Chicago, Ill.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:

None. Corporation not for profit.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

FRANCIS J. ROONEY, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 1925.

ANNA ZIMMERMAN, Notary Public.

(My commission expires January, 1927.)

NON
CIRCULATING

